California Journal
The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics
MAY 1983/$2.50

TOXIC TRICKLE-DOWN: GROWING FEARS FOR DRINKING WATER

MIKE ANTONOVICH: THE GOVERNOR'S CHOICE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Toxic trickle-down *by Douglas Foster* **177**

New political battles are brewing over pesticide contamination of groundwater supplies.

Duke's transportation difference *by Jeff Rabin* **180**

More highways, fewer trains and some new urban transit are on Caltrans' drawing boards.

Mike Antonovich's new hat *by Michele Willens* **183**

When the governor called, the chairman of the LA board of supervisors found time for a second job.

The gospel of Mark Russell **186**

A political humorist brings his Washington wit to Sacramento and finds plenty of easy targets.

Book review: A Reagan closeup **188**

AP Bureau Chief Doug Willis discerns little insight in the first "insider's" biography.

That Mono Lake decision *by Harrison C. Dunning* **189**

The "public trust" must be considered in future water cases — but what will that mean?

Courting the Hispanics *by Kenneth C. Burt* **191**

Republicans are competing for their votes, and Hispanics hope more political clout will result.

Incorporation fever *by Al Sokolow and Linda Martin* **193**

Seventeen new cities have been formed since Proposition 13 — with some disturbing effects.

Gus Hawkins, a quiet fighter *by Martin Salditch* **195**

After nearly a half-century in public life, the congressman still shuns the limelight.

The traffic-ticket tryout *by Ed Remitz* **197**

An experiment in relieving the courts of traffic cases has met with mixed reviews.

Laguna Beach's wayward ways *by Larry Peterson* **199**

Showdown on arbitration *by Robert Gunnison* **201**

With the governor's blessing, police officers may get their binding arbitration law this year.

Beating 'Bad-Boy' Crean *by Nancy E. Allen* **203**

Congressman Ron Packard had good cause to thank San Diego County media for his write-in victory.

Rostrum 199
Roll call 205
Ballot front 200
New in print 202
Leo Rennert 207

California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

Volume XIV, Number 5 **May 1983**

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber
EDITOR
Robert S. Fairbanks
MANAGING EDITOR
Alice Nauman
ART DIRECTOR
Chris Van Overloop
ADVERTISING & CIRCULATION
Barbara Aguirre
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
Leo Rennert
CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS
Paul Duginski, Steve Greenberg
STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Mary E. Gillis
Robin G. Robinson
TELEVISION PRODUCTION
Joan Reiss
COUNSEL: Conrad Lee Klein
AUDITORS
Arthur Young & Company

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public-benefit corporation specializing in research and education in government.

The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, Public Issues Index and California Periodicals Index.

California Journal (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $35; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to *California Journal*, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

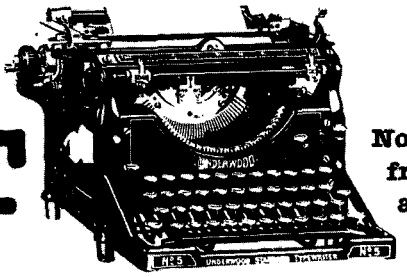
Copyright 1983 by The California Center.

Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
R. WILLIAM HAUCK, chairman, executive vice president, California Research, Sacramento.
ROSELLEN KERSHAW, vice-chair, former president, California Division, AAUW, Fresno.
WILLIAM K. COBLENTZ, attorney, San Francisco.
DAVID CRIPPENS, vice president and station manager, KCET, Los Angeles.
STEPHEN D. GAVIN, vice president-corporate relations officer, Pacific Mutual, Newport Beach.
THOMAS R. HOEBER, publisher, *California Journal*, Sacramento.
E. L. LAMMERDING, chairman, retired, Capitol Bank of Commerce, Sacramento.
EUGENE C. LEE, director, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
DONALD G. LIVINGSTON, vice president, Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc., Los Angeles.
ROBERT T. MONAGAN, president, California Manufacturers Association, Sacramento.
YOLANDA NAVA, Los Angeles.
VIGO G. (CHIP) NIELSEN, attorney, Dobbs and Nielsen, San Francisco.
MARCEL B. POCHÉ, justice, First District Court of Appeal, San Francisco.
RICHARD T. SILBERMAN, former state finance director, San Diego.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Democratic Congressman Phil Burton of San Francisco, the living legend, is dead at 56. Given his eating, drinking and smoking habits, along with his fiercely combative nature, his early passing could not surprise. Maybe that's the way to do it — use up your days quickly. How many of those who jog and sip Perrier will have accomplished so much? Nevertheless, there was something disquieting about the man — an intensity, an inability to be amused by his own ideas. His younger brother John, on the other hand, could deliver an angry speech on the Assembly floor and then sit down and chuckle with his nearby colleagues at the audacity or hyperbole of what he had just said. Phil could never stand clear of himself to the same degree. In 1982, after moving to Washington, John stood clear for a moment, decided that his seat in Congress was killing him and quit. Phil stayed on relentlessly effective until the end.

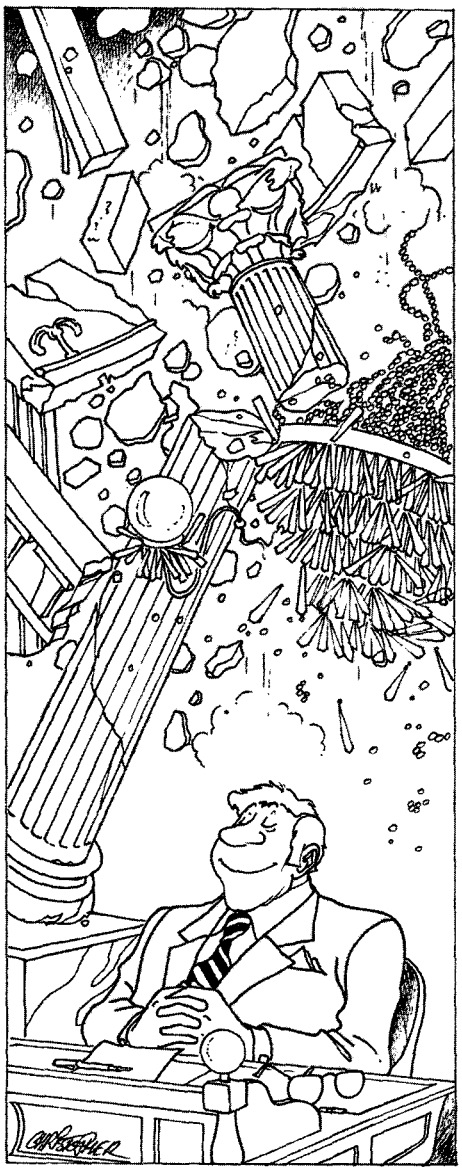
Wells Fargo Bank, the California Manufacturers Association and San Diego Gas and Electric are once again practicing their own brand of political reform — no off-year campaign contributions. The three started the practice in the last non-election year, 1981, and CMA President Bob Monagan says the reason for continuing now is, "We're just out of money (from the last election)." But it's also true that off-year contributions look bad, being handed to a lawmaker when he or she may be about to vote on a special interest bill and the next election is more than a year away. What was the donation really for?

(Joan Reiss, Sacramento)

In Bud Lembke's article last month on campaign finance reform, we misquoted Legi-Tech, the legislative information service, when we had it reporting that Assembly Speaker Willie Brown raised $1.88 million for last year's elections. Actually, the Legi-Tech report was that Brown's committees gave $1.88 million to other candidates. As the article indicated elsewhere, the speaker raised considerably more.

To see whether legislators are feeling any pressure from the public to prepare California for its next earthquake, a member of the Seismic Safety Commission sent a questionnaire to all. Only about a third of the lawmakers replied, and nearly half of them (47 percent) said that none of their constituents had ever contacted them on the issue. "What would cause disaster preparedness to become a major issue?" asked the questionnaire. "A major disaster," 80 percent replied.

(Vince Montane, Sacramento)



A man who looked for a while as though he might become one of the big players in California Republican politics seems to have picked up his marbles and gone home. David Murdock, former chairman of the GOP finance committee, hasn't been seen much since his candidate, Mike Curb, lost to George Deukmejian in the gubernatorial primary last year. Some party types think Murdock was trying to buy his way into influence, using Curb as a vehicle. But not party Chairman Ed Reinecke. Although he hasn't spoken with Murdock for several months, Reinecke says: "I think he's still on board as a team player and financial supporter. Nobody is out of favor as far as I'm concerned."

(Michele Willens, Los Angeles)

Officials at the Franchise Tax Board aren't as gloomy as you might think concerning their big loss recently to Chevron Incorporated, formerly known as Standard Oil of California. The board had charged Chevron with misrepresenting income from its Mideast subsidiary, Aramco. Although the case involved only $4.9 million, it could have set a precedent costing Chevron over $100 million in California back taxes. But in March, the State Board of Equalization, which hears tax appeals, voted 2-1 for Chevron. Having returned now from another look at their law books, the Franchise Tax attorneys say that all is not lost. Under the version of law handed down by the Equalization Board, Chevron's partners in the Aramco firm — Texaco, Mobil and Exxon — suddenly owe California a big chunk of back taxes. Whether the amount will balance the Chevron loss is not yet known. What seems clear is that Chevron, the only California-based corporation among the Aramco four, is doing nicely on its home ground.

(Dan Walters, Sacramento)

Last month an item here listed the five counties that are most popular with prison parolees; that is, the top five among those that receive more persons from state prisons than they send in. We also listed the least popular — those that receive less than they send in. Now comes Bob Aldrich of KQMS radio in Redding who says our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

numbers are not wrong, but. . . It seems that the parole offices in some counties are headquarters for their regions, meaning that many parolees report to those county offices but reside in a surrounding area. Phil Guthrie, spokesman for the Corrections Department, says we got the regional numbers instead of the county numbers (which were requested) because of a computer problem.

Governor Deukmejian celebrated his first 100 days in office April 13th and seemed to be right at home. For us, the governor's manner was most apparent earlier in the month when he addressed the Sacramento Press Club and then answered questions about anything and everything from the floor. He said nothing especially newsy, but he spoke pleasantly, knew the issues and generally indicated that he's on top of all that's going on. Better be careful, George. Something may be gaining on you from behind.

Wally Ingalls, the verbal slasher who quit the Assembly last year to practice law in Riverside, is supposedly lining up candidates to challenge some members of the local city council. According to Ingalls' pro-development views, the council's land use policies are too restrictive. "The town is run by quiche-eating greenbelters. I didn't come back here to starve," Wally explains.

(Dan Bernstein, Riverside)

The Capitol bureau of the *Los Angeles Times* invited Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy over for breakfast recently and served him a big piece of coffee cake covered with sliced almonds. But McCarthy is allergic to almonds, having suffered a well-

publicized (in *The Times* and elsewhere) illness because of them. "I think your intent is very clear," said McCarthy as he reached for the mixed fruit. "Honestly," swears Bureau Chief Bill Endicott, "I forgot."

Former U.S. Senator John Tunney, now lawyering in Los Angeles and commentating on TV (KABC), is talking about running for governor in 1986 and says he will decide by the end of this year. Among those who think Tunney is pipe dreaming is Charles Manatt, head of the law firm where Tunney works and Democratic national chairman. "I'll give three to one odds Tunney will never run," Manatt says smilingly when asked about his colleague's political soliloquizing.

(Michele Willens, Los Angeles)

Senator Alan Cranston is writing a book to be titled *Inside the Politburo.* The 68-year-old Democrat says he decided to do so after his discovery, while planning a trip to Russia in 1981, of how little has been published about the 12-member group that runs the Soviet Union.

(Martin Salditch, Washington)

In a report covering its impact on California's economy, Anheuser-Busch notes that Los Angeles has become the beer capital of the world, surpassing both St. Louis and Milwaukee in brewing capacity. The heady achievement occurred last year when Anheuser-Busch finished a $500 million expansion at its brewery in Van Nuys.

Ralph Morrell, the retired naval person from Dixon, believes that legislative vote switching is a high crime. Full of anger and zeal, he will tell you that vote switching allows lawmakers to deceive: to vote one way on a bill, perhaps to please a lobbyist, and then — after everyone has voted and the outcome is known — switch his vote to the other, more publicly acceptable side. Thus, though the lawmaker did his best to kill the measure, he is permanently recorded as its friend from the start. Theoretically, the practice is possible in both houses of the Legislature, but it's far more prevalent on the Assembly side. It is prohibited only if the switched vote would change the ultimate result, the success or failure of the bill.

Clearly, not everyone who switches a vote is hoping to deceive. A lawmaker may have made an honest mistake and wants a vote switch to correct it. However, Morrell is not quick to concede such things, and his constant pressure over the years has had some results, most recently when the State Chamber of Commerce decided to begin identifying vote switchers in its reports to members on legislation results. So far, in our roll call section, we have recorded only final votes. There are relatively few switches and reporting them would, we thought, take valuable space. But, Mr. Morrell, we may change.

Richie Ross is bright, tough and energetic, and — at 33 — would like to make more money. There's the wife and five kids to think of, he says. Not

that he was doing badly with Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. As right-hand man for seeing to it that all Assembly Democrats get re-elected every two years, Ross was on the Assembly payroll for $62,000 annually. But as an independent campaign consultant, he could be making much more. And so Ross is no longer an Assembly employee. Instead, the Assembly has awarded him a no-bid contract for $132,000 a year to furnish some of the political services that Assembly Democrats need. Ross says he spends most of the money for his new office and five employees, taking only $2,500 a month for himself. Also, he continues to run the Assembly staff he ostensibly left behind when he became a private entrepreneur. In all, says Ross, he's providing so much service that he's actually saving money for the lower house. So how does he prosper? Well, now that he's independent, he can take other clients. Speaker Brown, for instance, has spent nearly $40,000 with Ross's new firm.

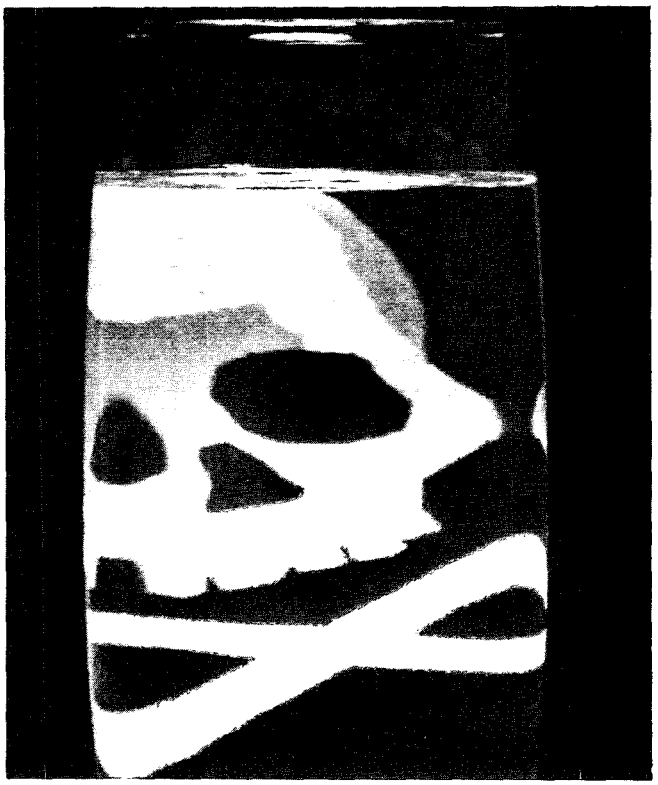
And finally, Ross won't be burdened too heavily by the income taxes that government insists everyone pay. With help from his new contract, he is buying the small downtown building that houses his new offices. Ross says the price was $225,000 and his carrying charges are $4,000 a month. With depreciation, that should give him a tax deduction of about $60,000 a year. And so, mothers and dads, stop telling the kids to become doctors.

A.G. Block, Sacramento

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE GROWING BATTLE OVER PESTICIDES IN DRINKING WATER

By DOUGLAS FOSTER



The battle over agricultural pesticides and their effect on California drinking water seems certain to become much hotter during coming months than anyone imagined only a short time ago. Back in November, as an unofficial, two-year moratorium on pesticide legislation was coming to a close, it seemed as though agribusiness and the chemical companies would have an upper hand during the coming legislative session. The reason was that they had just helped elect a friend — Republican George Deukmejian — to the governor's chair.

But the balance of power is likely to shift, thanks mostly to continuing news of scandals and giveaways within the federal government's Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and to new reports of contaminated drinking water in various parts of the state. As a result, public concerns will grow, giving more political muscle to environmentalists and others who want tighter pesticide controls.

The EPA scandals are important because they undercut a major argument made by many on the agribusiness side: that EPA rules are generally adequate to control dangerous pesticides and that additional state regulations do little more than burden California growers with unnecessary costs. Given the current status and reputation of the EPA, anyone using that argument today should be examined for suicidal intentions.

But the comings and goings at the EPA will have far less impact than new reports of pesticides and other harmful chemicals in the drinking water of the state. Although citizens may react calmly to news of another scandal in Washington, they are certain to become aroused when their own health and safety is directly at stake.

And there are three new reports, one each from the Department of Food and Agriculture, the Department of Health Services and the State Water Resources Control Board. (See box.) Although some of their earlier findings have been publicized, such as widespread DBCP contamination in the San Joaquin Valley, none of the new reports has been formally published, and their full impact is expected to be felt when that occurs. A key report, from the Agriculture Department, shows that pesticides can penetrate some types of soil more easily than expected, meaning that some water supplies are more vulnerable than experts previously thought. The other reports show pockets of contamination west of Bakersfield, near Manteca and along the Smith River in Del Norte County.

However, results were not entirely negative. Tests in the Santa Maria groundwater basin of Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties and in the Salinas Valley basin of Monterey and Santa Cruz counties came up clean, as did a smaller test in Merced County.

Agribusiness' friend

But despite the good news, the overall impact of the three reports will hurt the agribusiness side. "Any of this press that says, 'Pesticides are penetrating here and there and everywhere, are getting into your lifestyle and drinking water' — that doesn't help us," says Wayne Stringer, president of the Western Agricultural Chemical Association, a trade group representing chemical manufacturers in six western states.

None of this is to say that the governor's attitude toward agriculture and pesticides is no longer important. The point is that events may force him to reconsider. For instance, that Deukmejian came into office as a friend of agriculture is not in doubt. "Farmers and ranchers, by their efforts and productivity, have proven to be our friends. As governor, I intend to be their friend," candidate Deukmejian declared. But what will he do if the Legislature produces a major pesticide control bill that his friends in agriculture dislike? In his state of the state speech, Deukmejian suggested that a veto is possible. "On pesticides," he said, "while the health and safety of agricultural work-

Douglas Foster is an editor at San Francisco's Center for Investigative Reporting, Incorporated, a non-profit agency dealing in research and reporting for newspapers, magazines and television.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers and consumers will be fully protected by my administration, we will not impose impossible or foolish standards upon our farmers."

However, the Deukmejian Administration is nothing if not sensitive to its public relations. If an aroused citizenry is beating at the door, complaining of poisons in its drinking water, then pesticide controls that seemed "impossible or foolish" to the governor only a few months before may quickly become "necessary reforms."

But there's more to governing than signing and vetoing bills, just as there's more to the pesticide fight than events in the Legislature. There is also the crucial role played by state agencies in drafting and repealing the state regulations needed to flesh out and interpret statutory laws. According to what state agencies do with their regulations, the impact of an underlying law may be radically changed.

As a candidate, Deukmejian promised some deregulation in the pesticide field. "Modern agriculture is heavily dependent on a broad array of necessary pesticides. I will not permit California agiculture to become isolated and placed in an unreasonable competitive disadvantage to agriculture in other states and countries. We must have a reasonable and safe pesticide program, but those pesticide regulations which are not statutorily authorized and which are not essential to the protection of the public will be abolished," he said.

Although no regulations have been abolished so far, the drafting and enforcement process has been altered to put more power in the hands of Deukmejian's director of Food and Agriculture, former legislator, farm lobbyist and grower Clare Berryhill. Berryhill's Department of Food and Agriculture is now the "lead agency" for settling interagency disputes over pesticide regulations. Traditionally, the department has been regarded as more sympathetic to liberal pesticide use than other state agencies involved with the issue — Health Services, State Water Resources Control Board, etc. Echoing the governor, Berryhill has said, "I'm looking for less regulation."

CONFIRMING THE PROBLEM

For many years scientists and water quality experts relied on the remarkable ability of soil to filter impurities from the underground water supply. Only about a decade ago, a Stanford Research Institute study assured that ". . . the incidence of pesticides in groundwater is low and not a significant environmental contamination factor."

But evidence is growing that such reliance is no longer possible, and three new state reports confirm the problem.

Although final reports are not published and further tests are planned, here are some of the three agencies' preliminary findings:

DEPARTMENT OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

During the summer of 1982, four groundwater basins were studied for presence of four pesticides which had been used in massive quantities in the areas. One of the four, DBCP (dibromochloropropane), was banned after 1977 because of reports of sterility among workers in DBCP manufacturing plants. But the other chemicals (simazine, carbofuran and ethylene dibromide or EDB) are still in use.

Previously, the Department of Health Services had conducted well samplings in two of the basins (San Joaquin Valley and the upper Santa Ana basin in Riverside and San Bernardino counties) and found hundreds of wells contaminated with DBCP. The new tests were to determine whether the DBCP remained (it did) and whether soil in the test areas was protecting underground water from the other three pesticides, which were of differing chemical types. (Much of it did not.)

More specifically, the report found:

- DBCP was found in about one-fourth (6 of 23) of the wells sampled in Riverside and San Bernardino counties. Two wells also contained simazine; one contained carbofuran, both of which were new findings.
- In the San Joaquin Valley, nearly 15 percent of all sample wells contained at least one of the four pesticides. Twenty-one of 166 wells had DBCP; three contained simazine and two contained EDB. These were the first reports of simazine or EDB contamination of California groundwater.

No pesticides were detected in the other two test areas: the Santa Maria basin in Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties and the Salinas Valley basin in Monterey and Santa Cruz counties. Ron Oshima, manager of the department's Environmental Hazards Assessment Program, says the department will now attempt to learn why pesticides penetrate some soils and not others.

WATER RESOURCES CONTROL BOARD

Since California banned DBCP in 1977, the most popular substitute has been D-D, a soil fumigant. D-D use has more than doubled in four years — from 7 million pounds in 1978 to more than 16 million in 1981. Water Resources teams last year began targeting groundwater tests in three counties (Del Norte, Merced and San Joaquin) where D-D use has been especially heavy. They found:

- Sixteen wells in Del Norte County, along the Smith River, were contaminated with 1,2-D, a basic ingredient in D-D and a suspected carcinogenic substance. Eighty families are drinking bottled water in that area while tests continue.
- In Manteca (San Joaquin County), three other wells were found to be "hot spots" contaminated with 1,2-D. Wells in Merced county tested negatively. The board plans more tests statewide for additional contamination because of D-D's growing use.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES

Just west of Bakersfield, Health Services teams conducted groundwater tests last August and again in February. The results:

- Three private wells were found to have high levels of EDB, a cancer-causing agent in animal tests. Contamination levels ranged from .1 part per billion to 5 parts per billion. No formal standards have been set for EDB, but homeowners in the area have been advised not to drink from the affected wells.
- So far EDB contamination has not been detected in wells of the California Water Service Company which serves Bakersfield, but a portion of the city's drinking water comes from the study area where EDB has been found.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To date, Berryhill's most widely noted action concerning pesticides was his decision — announced March 31st — to approve Bolero, a weedkiller that's been used for the past two years by rice farmers just north of Sacramento. In late spring, farmers apply the chemical to their water-covered fields and later drain the fields into the Sacramento River, from which the city draws much of its drinking supply. Former Governor Jerry Brown's administration gave temporary approval for Bolero's use, and Deukmejian's administration now has taken the next step, making the approval virtually permanent. (Formally, the administration issued a one year, conditional approval. But the conditions, generally involving data submission and monitoring, are expected to be met.)

Berryhill's action, announced through his Agriculture Department, overrode protests from city officials who said they only learned last October that Bolero was contaminating the city's water supply. It gives the water a bitter taste, they say, and its safety for human consumption has not been fully proved. To mask the Bolero taste, they continue, they will have to add another chemical to the water at a cost of $1,000 a day.

In response, the department said it was imposing a number of conditions on the Bolero approval, including a requirement that the Chevron Chemical Company, Bolero's maker, complete a two-generation study of the chemical's effect on rat reproduction. The administration said initial findings indicated "little likelihood" of reproductive effects. Also, rice farmers will be told to hold the herbicide-laced water on their fields for at least six days before dumping it in the river, thus increasing chances for the chemical to break down.

In a "fact sheet" accompanying its announcement, the department said the highest level of Bolero found at the city water intake last year was 2.8 parts per billion. This, the department said, was well below the 50 ppb residue that the federal government allows in milk. In response to questions later, a department official said the federal standard was set by an EPA unit under John A. Todhunter, assistant administrator for pesticides and toxic substances and one of five EPA officials whose resignation under fire was announced March 25th. According to news accounts, Todhunter was accused of trying to give a no-bid contract to a former employer, a research firm that had been cited earlier by the federal Food and Drug Administration for doing below-standard work.

Such news, however, was not especially surprising to one of the state Capitol's prominent lobbyists for tougher pesticide laws. "In fact, Todhunter is probably beside the point," says Ralph Lightstone of the California Rural Legal Assistance. "The EPA's program has been a miserable failure since it was created in 1972. Every congressional investigation has concluded that EPA has fundamentally failed to register pesticides in a way that protects the public health. The EPA program has had no credibility under Democrats or Republicans."

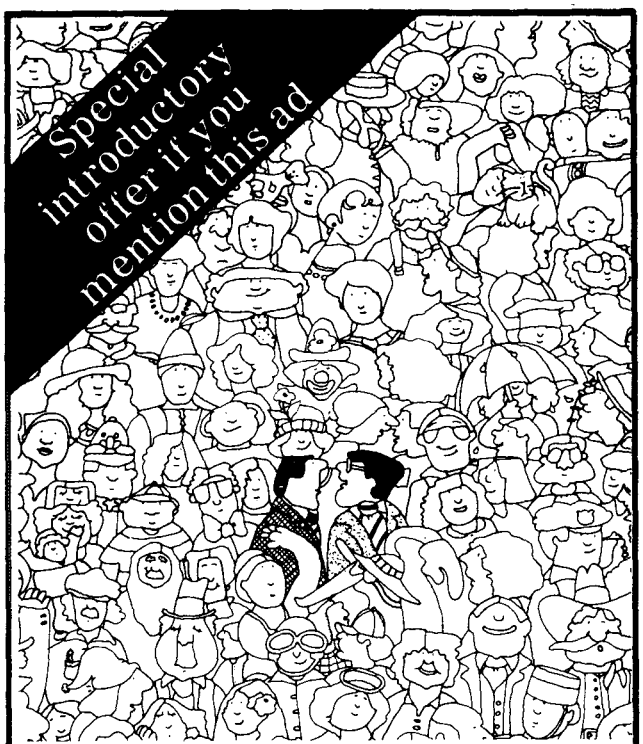
In any case Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento believes that the administration's Bolero decision may have an effect on the renewed legislative struggle over pesticide laws, if only because the Legislature itself is in Sacramento. "When you go to a legislative hearing (to vote on a bill) and the water you're sipping has a herbicide in it, it's got to be something you're thinking about," he says.

The state's current pesticide regulations were set forth by the Brown Administration in 1980. Brown had proposed stricter rules but backed away when farm groups threatened to nullify them by winning legislative support for a new law. Nevertheless, the regulations are more stringent than federal rules and are supported by various environmental groups, including the Environmental Defense Fund.

Last year, the EDF prepared a short pamphlet to explain the regulations. After a four-month review by the Agriculture Department, the pamphlet was issued by the state's Resources Agency just before Brown left office. Entitled "California's New Pesticide Regulations and You," the pamphlet explains the regulations and prominently notes that they do not ban pesticide use. However, it says, the regulations make it illegal for pesticides to be misused, overused or used when a safer alternative would do the job. The pamphlet then explains what a citizen should do if he or she believes that a pesticide is being used improperly.

Not surprisingly, agricultural interests were not pleased. "Some people call it the guide in how to sue the government over pesticides," says the chemical association's Stringer.

The Deukmejian Administration didn't like the pamphlet either but says the pamphlet has not been withdrawn. It's just that all 6,000 copies have been distributed and no reprintings are planned, a spokesman for the Resources Agency says.



*"Well, my newspaper's **The Daily Recorder**, and **The Daily Recorder** says. . ."*

Publishers DAILY of:

- **State regulation hearing notices**
- **Digests of all new/amended legislation**
- **Attorney General opinions, full text/indexed**
- **Board of Equalization opinions, full text/indexed**
- **Cal-OSHA opinions, full text/indexed**

Subscribe for just $10 for three months
(save 50 % off the regular price)

The Daily Recorder
To subscribe, call (916) 444-2355
-or write-
The Daily Recorder, 1115 H Street, Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Deukmejian difference in the state's transportation future

By JEFF RABIN

Since transportation routes are the arteries of a society, carrying the flow that keeps it alive, Governor George Deukmejian's big transportation program for the next five years is sure to have a major impact on the California way of life. Will Californians continue to sprawl across the land, using automobiles to link their subdivisions and to give them the freedom to come and go as they please? Or will they draw together more, learning to live with less elbow room and more dependence on buses, trains and other forms of mass transit?

Clearly, the governor prefers the former. During the campaign, he often spoke scathingly of the environmental laws and regulations that have been used to control subdivision growth. But more importantly, he promised to build more of the freeways and highways that make subdivisions and motoring possible. In his state of the state speech, for instance, Deukmejian vowed to shift emphasis from "exotic alternative transportation schemes" (trains and bike lanes) to "proven priorities of safe, well-maintained and efficient highways." A month later, he told trucking executives in San Diego: "You have an administration in Sacramento that actually likes highways. . . The days of a transportation policy driven by whims and daydreams are over."

The whims and daydreams, of course, were Deukmejian's code words for the policies of his predecessor, former Governor Jerry Brown, and of Brown's combative transportation director, Adriana Gianturco. During Brown's eight years in office, he and Gianturco attempted to change California's transportation attitudes and habits. By slowing freeway construction and diverting more money to alternative forms of transportation, Brown and Gianturco were challenging California's love affair with the automobile. But now, Deukmejian was saying, the situation has changed and highways are back in style.

What Deukmejian may have overlooked, however, is that regardless of Brown's alleged devotion to exotica and whimsy, the former governor's transportation policies were largely shaped by some very concrete events. Among them:

- **The first Mideast** oil embargo of 1973-74, which caused an enormous boost in the price of gasoline and showed that the supply could be shut off at any time by shifts in Mideast politics. Indeed, Brown's first campaign for governor in 1974 included a pledge to develop alternative transportation systems so that Californians might escape some of the real hardships imposed by that (and subsequent) embargoes.
- **Population growth** and a slowdown in residential construction, a combination which aggravated congestion in urban areas. However, new urban freeways were too expensive to provide relief in many cases, even if opposition from environmentalists could be overcome. As a result, some business groups and local officials recognized that mass transit systems were a necessary solution to urban transportation problems.

Jeff Rabin is a member of the Capitol bureau of the Sacramento Bee.

Climbing aboard

Consequently, Deukmejian may be finding that at least some of Brown's exotica is rooted more deeply than he thought and that he cannot chop it without some political risk to himself. The subject here is urban transit systems and the evidence for Deukmejian's new tolerance is in his proposed State Transportation Improvement Program (STIP), a blueprint for all highway and transit projects during the next five years. Each governor updates the plan annually by making changes, setting priorities and adding a new fifth year. This is Deukmejian's first shot at it and it is expected to be approved by the California Transportation Commission this summer.

The STIP calls for spending $549 million in state funds over the next five years to plan and build light rail and subway lines. Trolley lines are planned for Sacramento, the Santa Clara Valley, Orange County and San Diego. Deukmejian also has climbed aboard the Metro Rail bandwagon by endorsing more than $250 million over five years for the $2 billion-plus Wilshire Corridor subway from downtown Los Angeles to the San Fernando Valley.

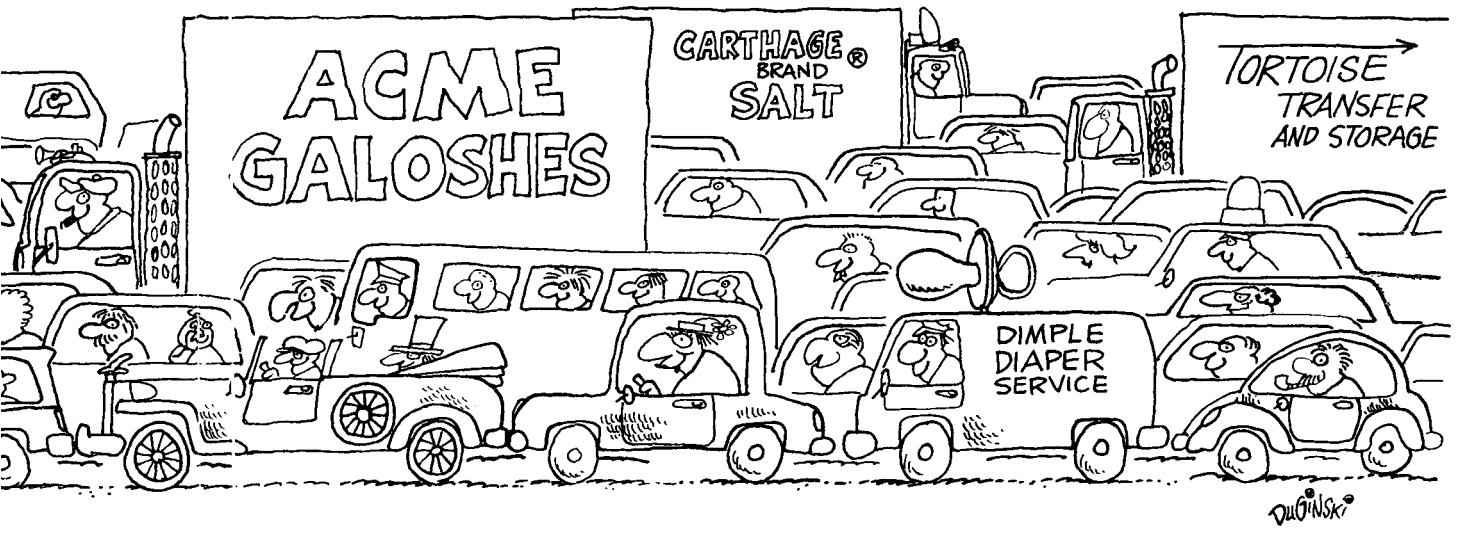
Deukmejian's proposal is 11 percent below the $619 million for building transit systems envisioned in the last STIP. But the cut is less severe than it sounds. The reason is that it does not occur immediately. Transit spending next year, for instance, will be about as much as previously planned. In other words, Deukmejian's cuts are delayed until the fifth year of STIP, a period that is so far in the political future that spending estimates for then have about all the significance and staying power of a soap bubble.

Arthur Bauer, a Sacramento consultant for Californians for Better Transportation, a broad-based coalition of business, labor, local officials, road builders and transit advocates, believes Deukmejian is learning there is nothing exotic about urban transit. "Just as Jerry Brown had to come to the reality that highways provide the backbone of the transportation system, George Deukmejian has to address the need for urban rail transit systems," Bauer says.

He is optimistic that Deukmejian will support urban transit systems where the potential for promoting economic development can be demonstrated. Bauer points to the example of Metro Rail — the 18-mile link between the San Fernando Valley and downtown Los Angeles. The subway, he says, "is the key to establishing an attractive urban investment environment. It's going to provide a quantum expansion for central Los Angeles and the Los Angeles region."

State Business, Transportation and Housing Secretary Kirk West agrees that Metro Rail is important to economic growth in Los Angeles and declared that Deukmejian is committed to it. "In some areas," West says, "the freeways are close to capacity or exceed capacity, and cost-effective alternatives must be examined."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



West, former executive vice president of the California Taxpayers Association, an organization backed by the state's leading corporations, indicated that the Deukmejian Administration would look to business groups for guidance in selecting areas of the state that need those cost-effective alternatives. "The business community," he says, "is very well aware of the importance of transportation for our economic health in this state, for a growing economy. In some areas, the business leadership is endorsing mass transit programs. In other areas they are not. It depends on the area."

Leo Trombatore, a veteran highway engineer tapped by Deukmejian to succeed Gianturco as director of Caltrans (the transportation department), echoes his boss. "I have the latitude to provide all forms of transportation," he says, "as long as they are done in a professional, cost-effective manner and are participated in by local officials and citizens."

West warns, however, that the administration's support for planning and building urban transit is as far as it goes — operating subsidies will have to come from other sources. "We are not putting the state on the road to obligations that cannot be met at the state level," he says.

That philosophy is also reflected in the governor's proposed subsidies to local transit districts, primarily for bus operations. The program was to have received $103 million for the fiscal year beginning July 1st. The Deukmejian budget proposes a cut of 27 percent, to $75 million.

Cutting the trains

Even this 27 percent reduction pales alongside Deukmejian's plans to trim the centerpiece of the Brown Administration's rail program — Adriana Gianturco's intercity trains.

Her ambitious program to help tie California together by rail with trains between Sacramento and San Jose, San Francisco and Monterey, Los Angeles and Riverside has been abandoned. Additionally, Deukmejian has proposed eliminating two trains with low ridership and high costs. One of the two, the embattled Oxnard-to-Los Angeles commuter service, is dead, the victim of poor ridership and a bitter dispute between the state and Southern Pacific over the cost of providing the service. And barring legislative action to restore funding, the overnight "Spirit of California" from Sacramento to Los Angeles will make its last run September 30th.

Deukmejian had planned to eliminate a third run, the "San Joaquin" trains that link Oakland and Bakersfield but agreed to a one-year reprieve after it became apparent the Legislature, in response to local protests, would save the service. Gianturco had proposed spending $113 million for all the trains. Deukmejian would spend $61 million over five years, primarily for the heavily used San Francisco Peninsula commuter trains and the "San Diegans" between Los Angeles and San Diego.

Deep as these transit cuts are, they seem even deeper when compared with the well-publicized explosion in highway spending that is about to occur. Overall, the Deukmejian STIP totals $12.1 billion, a whopping $2.2 billion bigger than Brown's last plan. Most of the total (95 percent) is going for highways, letting Deukmejian preside over the biggest road-building boom in more than a decade.

But things are not quite what they seem. The new highway construction would have occurred regardless of who was governor, thanks to the windfall from the federal government's new nickel-a-gallon gasoline tax (which Deukmejian opposed), a recent 2 cent-a-gallon boost in the state gas levy and increased fees on heavy trucks. In other words, if it weren't for the increases, Deukmejian would have to do much the same thing to highway construction that he is doing to transit. As one Caltrans official put it: "Without that money, we'd be laying off engineers."

With the infusion of new funds, Deukmejian will be able to spend $5.2 billion to build new freeways and $4.3 billion to repair, maintain and improve the efficiency of existing highways. Long-awaited projects including the massive $1.5 billion Century Freeway in Los Angeles, the most expensive road project in the state's history, are slated to move off the drawing boards.

Although it is the federal money rather than the governor's initiative that is creating the road-building boom, the program bears a Deukmejian stamp. In an effort to pour as much concrete as possible, the administration proposes fewer freeway amenities: landscaping, rest stops and noise-deadening walls.

To get the bulldozers moving quickly, the administration also has taken steps to minimize any delays that might be caused by environmental concerns. The Caltrans unit that operated independently to review environmental impacts of freeway projects, and to suggest alternative designs, has now been placed under direction of the highway engineers who design the projects in the first place.

So thanks to the federal government, California's new governor will be able to deliver on his promise of new highways. More land will be opened for development. And the public will get only as much urban transit as it demands.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

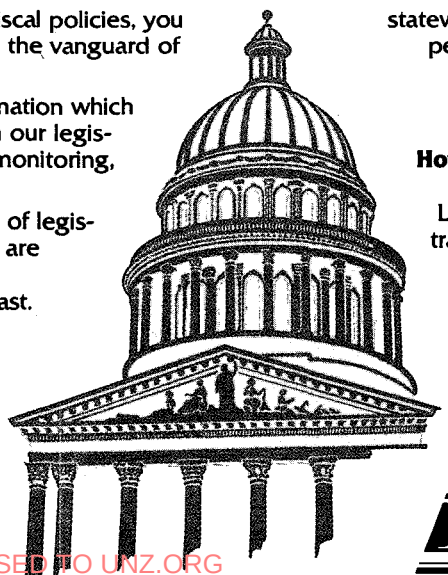
Information is Power

In our complex world of legislation and ever-changing fiscal policies, you need to get to the core of the matter to put your office in the vanguard of political decision making.

Tired of being put on hold or waiting for political information which has been delayed in the mail? Welcome to Legi-Tech. With our legislative tracking system, you will find yourself in a new era, monitoring, even influencing events in Sacramento.

Create your own instant vote analysis. Choose a block of legislative members and see what percentage of the time they are supporting or opposing your position on bills. Determine precisely when favorable and unfavorable votes are being cast.

Locate bills that affect your interests. You can search by subject, author, date of introduction, status or California code section. Obtain the description, summary, history and status of any piece of legislation. As if that's not enough, you can review any or all campaign contributions to California's Assemblymen, Senators and statewide office holders. In fact, you can perform your own special analysis of specific contributions to specific legislative committees. Legi-Tech makes it easy.



How do we do it? Modern computer efficiency is the foundation of the Legi-Tech System. Just two hours of training puts your office in charge of the largest, most comprehensive political information database in the west. What's more, it started right here in Sacramento.

Get more information or better yet, a demonstration of the Legi-Tech system by calling Colt Stewart:

Legi-Tech

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Legi-Tech • 1121 L Street • The Senator Hotel • Suite 207 • Sacramento, CA 95814 • (916) 447-1886

A second political hat for LA Chairman Mike Antonovich

By MICHELE WILLENS

For years he was a minor elected official with a long name and a bland record. There was service on a community college board and then, from 1976 through '78, a seat in the state Assembly. There was a bitter loss to Mike Curb for the GOP nomination for lieutenant governor in 1978. Then in 1980, election to the powerful Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

Now, suddenly, Mike Antonovich is a force to be watched in the Republican Party. In December he became chairman of the county board — leader of the board's relatively new conservative majority which will have a major role in handling LA's end of the state's financial crisis. Then in January Antonovich was elected the California Republican Party's vice chairman. There, too, timing is critical, because he will be head of the party in two years when Governor George Deukmejian will be facing re-election.

Antonovich says he had not given the party position any thought until he got a call from Deukmejian, an old friend whose gubernatorial campaign Antonovich had served as Los Angeles chairman. "George called me two or three weeks before the state convention," he says. "The governor felt he'd like to have someone he knew, had worked with and felt comfortable with politically in that position. He wants to work closely with the state Central Committee -- and yes, he also wants someone he's acquainted with when the heavy load comes in 1986."

Antonovich might be considered as playing the Paul Laxalt role in California. Laxalt, the Nevada senator, was hand-picked by Ronald Reagan for a similar post in the national Republican Party — an unusual job for a current officeholder. But Reagan, like Deukmejian, feels comfortable with an old friend at the helm of the party — especially one with his own political interests at heart.

The time demands of a second job are a big consideration for Antonovich, especially because he will be running next year for re-election as supervisor. However, he is not expected to have much opposition, and he should have more than a half-million dollars in his campaign kitty following a May 12th dinner in Los Angeles, starring Governor Deukmejian as the main guest.

Right now, Antonovich is spending relatively little time on party business, although he does attend functions which give him the opportunity to spread the Republican gospel in the South. Meanwhile, state GOP Chairman Ed Reinecke handles most party business in the North. The relationship between the chairman and Antonovich is extremely close. "I've known Mike many years, and we think in lockstep on everything," Reinecke says. "There's no doubt that he's got a big future, but I hope he won't use this position to help his ascendancy. I don't think he intends to."

Whether or not he "uses" the new state position to further his career, Antonovich's highly visible presence in the near future can only enhance his statewide reputation. And he makes no bones about the fact that there will be life after the Board of Supervisors. "I plan to run for re-election in 1984, but I do have an interest in state politics and, perhaps sometime in the future, governor or U.S. senator," he says.

Antonovich is 43 years old with a perpetually youthful look: John Denver without the twang. He is tall, single, articulate and a tireless worker. A non-lawyer, he got into politics through the academic world, first as a teacher and then as a member of the Los Angeles Community College Board — elected the same year as Jerry Brown.

His politics are straight-arrow conservative: anti-abortion, anti-Equal Rights Amendment, anti-nuclear freeze, pro-private sector and pro-local control. He likens government to a business which should be cut and streamlined until it runs like one.

Yet there are contradictions: While he's opposed to ERA, every one of his deputies in the field, and his top one at the county office, is a woman. He is a health-food nut who has instituted programs to replace junk food with things less white in color and low on preservatives. He got a symbolic motion passed by the board pledging support for Solidarity in Poland.

Right now, the five-member Board of Supervisors is

Michele Willens is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles and a regular contributor to the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trying to cope with its share of the fallout from the state's budget problems. They lobbied in Sacramento early this year for smaller cuts and succeeded in losing only $6 million during state budget-trimming, rather than the $7.4 million originally expected.

Still, the county faces a shortfall this fiscal year of $62 million, and the question is where to cut costs to match its disappointing revenue. For fiscal year 1983-84, beginning July 1st, the projections are even grimmer: a shortfall of $160 million. The board is looking at immediate layoffs for at least 3,000 county employees (out of 72,000). But there are other options. One is to ask all employees to work one day a week without pay — a suggestion by Antonovich. Another is to borrow from Workers Compensation or the County Retirement Fund. Such alternatives, and others, were listed in a questionnaire to all county employees. Antonovich considered the questionnaire as a method of including employees in the decision-making process. But county employee unions saw it differently: "Mike Antonovich has an arrogant disregard for the entire collective bargaining process," says Cheryl Rhoden, director of political and community affairs for the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 660. "He repeatedly supports legislation that is not only aimed at circumventing the process but is a direct attack on the constitutional rights of public employees as citizens."

"This conservative board is only creating a climate of fear," claims Paul Nawrocki, international research specialist for SEIU. "We consider the questionnaire approach an unfair labor practice because they are bypassing our collective bargaining representatives. It's the old divide-and-conquer theory: Fragment us and don't deal with us as a group, although the workers elected someone to negotiate these issues for them."

The board majority (Antonovich plus fellow conservatives Deane Dana and Pete Schabarum) also angered many union members (especially those in lower-paying jobs) and fellow supervisors Ed Edelman and Kenneth Hahn when it voted late last year to take county employees out of Social Security. Although the full board had given approval to a required two-year study of the pull-out option, liberals Hahn and Edelman say the majority prematurely built into this year's fiscal projections the savings from not contributing to Social Security.

"We were led to believe there would be a full discussion of the matter," explains one Hahn aide. "And suddenly we're told that to *not* follow through on the withdrawal would put the county down $18 million. I guess we could have found it (the proposed savings) in the proposed budget, but it's like a hundred pages long."

Contracting out

Antonovich's most virulent battle with the unions has been over contracting with the private sector for services the unions have handled. Proposition A, passed in 1978, authorized the county to do so and Antonovich came into office pledging to aggressively pursue private contracting. He proudly cites a $26 million savings (backed by the Chief Administrative Office's first projections) which private contracts have saved the taxpayers.

"Contracting out eliminates a lot of fat and red tape," Antonovich says. "You can get most services done more efficiently because you have less personnel doing more work. It's like comparing the Post Office to some of the private mail services."

What about the county employees left behind? "We try to make sure they have the opportunity to be hired by the private companies," Antonovich says. "But in the end, I'm elected to represent my constituents and do what's best for the county."

The unions claim that because times are hard, their employees are being left jobless and depressed. They also question the $26 million savings estimate. "It all depends on how you look at the numbers," says Nawrocki. "For example, they contracted out Martin Luther King Hospital (in south central Los Angeles) and claimed enormous savings. But when we started investigating, we discovered they were counting 14 county ground-maintenance workers (replaced), when actually there were only five or six. We've run into that kind of inflating of county costs over and over — where the budgeting didn't mesh with the reality in the field.

"There's also the area of quality of service. For example, grounds maintenance workers in county parks, from our unions, used to be assigned on a consistent basis. They wouldn't just cut the grass, tend the bathrooms and leave. They'd also work with the various community groups in the area. These private contractors come in, empty the garbage cans and leave. In the long term, service declines."

Antonovich got into a little hot water when he asked the

Statesmanship Taught Here!

Legislature

California's School for Politics

William K. Muir, Jr.

Muir, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, has not only an astute knowledge of politics but a talent for interviewing and understanding people. He combines these skills in an absorbing book and concludes that a good legislature is a good school. Despite the distractions and moral perils of life in the public eye and the pressures of reelection, most members, in his view, became more competent, fairer, and wiser as a result of the education in the science of public life and the art of politics that they received in the legislature. Just published. $19.00

University of Chicago Press 5801 Ellis Avenue, Chicago IL 60637

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

county's Data Processing Board to consider contracting out. He called for a task force on the issue. But when that group was about to complete its report a few months later — recommending *against* contracting out — Antonovich announced the unit was being disbanded. Critics felt he was trying to head off the negative report at the pass; he says the task force had used up its time, and the word was out that it was going to recommend a no vote anyway. Amid some negative press reaction, the task force was reinstated and did go on to officially say "no" to private contracting for data processing.

The public employee unions charge that there is a link between Antonovich's private contracting enthusiasm and

the sources of some of his campaign contributions. Antonovich responds simply, "No more than (for) anyone else on the board."

The board also has placed the county's 50-plus department heads on an incentive system which awards them bonuses (from $1,500 to $3,000) for introducing cost-cutting measures and for contracting out services. The bonuses are in addition to salaries that range from $40,000 to $70,000.

Bumping Hahn

While Antonovich talks of efficiency and cutbacks, he has also pushed hard for the rebuilding of Olive View Hospital in the San Fernando Valley which was destroyed in the 1971 earthquake. The hospital, to cost at least $100 million, has been called extravagant by his critics, but Antonovich insists there is both need and support for it.

Just as he is not likely to be the labor movement's favorite candidate in the future, Antonovich also has work to do among minority groups. He talks often about the ethnically mixed constituency of his Fifth District (approximately 2,600 square miles), but his preference for contracting out has affected many minority members in county employee unions. In addition, his strong position on illegal aliens has generated Hispanic hostility.

"Something has to be done about that issue," he insists. "When you have 10 percent unemployment and jobs going to illegal aliens, something's wrong. Those who were born in this country or are here legally should have first right to those jobs. We have a $62 million shortage (in LA County) and it costs $80 million for county health services for aliens."

Even persons who disagree with Antonovich on issues concede that he is a more patient and articulate chairman than his predecessor, Pete Schabarum. He runs meetings in an orderly fashion with a minimum of rancor. He has managed a working relationship with Edelman, who disagrees with him on many issues but is basically a get-along kind of guy.

There is no such truce with Hahn, a 30-year veteran who found himself the first victim of the board's conservative majority. Hahn was in line last year to be vice chairman of the board and then — by the normal rotation which had long been in effect — chairman the following year. But the three conservatives chose Antonovich, not Hahn, bypassing the usual order for the first time in years.

Chairman Antonovich also has knocked Hahn off the Coliseum Commission where he had served for 29 years. The main power of the board chairman results from his decisions on which supervisor oversees which county departments. In fact, Antonovich has removed Hahn from responsibility for most of the departments he cared about, including fire, roads and parks and recreation.

"Kenny doesn't look at the county as a whole," Antonovich says in explanation. "He tends to just look at his own district. You have to be a team player here. While he was on the Coliseum Commission, we lost the Rams to Anaheim and we lost the Lakers at the Sports Arena. The commission was floundering. I don't want to say he was punished; we just needed a change."

One top aide to Hahn disagrees sharply: "He's treated Kenny shabbily, and they don't get along." Hahn chose not to be interviewed.

What no one in county government seems to doubt is that Antonovich has ambition. "He has a history of bringing in issues here that only marginally, if at all, relate to the county," says one Edelman aide. "Like the Solidarity issue. Any time he has a chance to expand a statement to give it statewide or national implications, he will. It's irrelevant, but it gets publicity."

"LA County is a melting pot," Antonovich responds, "and when the forces of Communism are advancing, or there is a threat to freedom anywhere, we have to speak up." Yet when Hahn tried to get a motion passed last year declaring Ground Zero Week — a nationwide effort to educate the public about the perils of nuclear war — Antonovich fought the motion for days. "He (Antonovich) kept saying it was going to give aid and support to the Communists," recalls a Hahn aide. "He took a real McCarthyesque approach to those hearings."

Antonovich says he did vote against the idea but eventually passed a resolution to go along with the others' approval: "I added a statement that you can only have peace through strength and until the United States has parity with the Soviet Union, we oppose any freeze. My motion passed 5-0."

For now, Antonovich has his hands full with county business. He wants to regain local control over programs now in the hands of the state and to streamline government until its budget balances. He feels the chances are good, "now that we have a friend in the governor's seat who agrees with us."

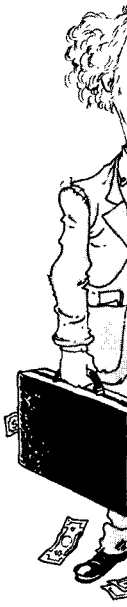
He will also be helping that friend in his capacity as vice chairman of the party. "We have to be more aggressive than we've ever been," he says of the GOP. "We've got to have an effective outreach program, because we've never been able to communicate our goals. I think if we talked to minority members, for example, we'd find they agree with us more than they disagree. We'll also work on candidate outreach, because we have to start in 1983 to win in '84. We have to find and elect qualified, prepared people."

And, if things work out, Mike Antonovich may very well be one such candidate in the near future.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington humorist pays debt to California

the political gospel according to mark (russell)



California politics and politicians were fair game for political humorist Mark Russell when he came to Sacramento recently for a fund raiser benefiting KVIE Channel 6, the Capitol's public television station. His free-wheeling monologue (excerpted for statewide public TV April 22nd) dinged the following subjects, among others:

• **Sacramento Congressman Vic Fazio,** who carried the 1983 congressional pay-raise bill: Congressman Fazio is here. Congratulations on your pay raise — and I do mean *your* pay raise. I've seen your congressman in Washington . . . and now it's good to see you in your home district, Congressman. I notice you wear the older suits out here.

• Public TV's soon-to-be discontinued **"California Week in Review":** They're going to air this (Russell's show) when they edit out the impurities, and it will be on "California Week in Review," a very popular television show which is going to go off the air.

• **Governor Deukmejian;** It's an honor to be here in Sacramento — it's not my first time here . . . I always like to do a little sightseeing. I went over to the Capitol building today, or as I call it, the Armenian Embassy . . . And Duke . . . I like him. I saw him when he won in November and he was just exhilarated, and he just lost control of himself: He had two extra scoops of vanilla. It was just fantastic.

• **The state's fiscal condition:** (This) is not really a benefit — I've been paid in registered warrants. And that was a tricky thing there, to pay everybody off with IOUs . . . You went from Proposition 13 to Chapter 11. That's why you don't worry about earthquakes any more. It's just the sound of 86 million checks bouncing. So now, you Californians, you qualify: You are a third world country. Yeah, you're sort of a laid-back Zimbabwe, you know.

• **Californians in Washington:** I am really indebted to you because of the people you Californians have sent to me. I mean that. Gee whiz, the list is formidable. You sent me Ronald Reagan, who has given charisma a bad name. You gave me Alan Cranston, who once a week sits down and eats a fig newton. You gave me S. I. Hayakawa, the greatest mascot the Senate has ever seen. Every time I saw him I wanted to stick him on a charm bracelet . . .

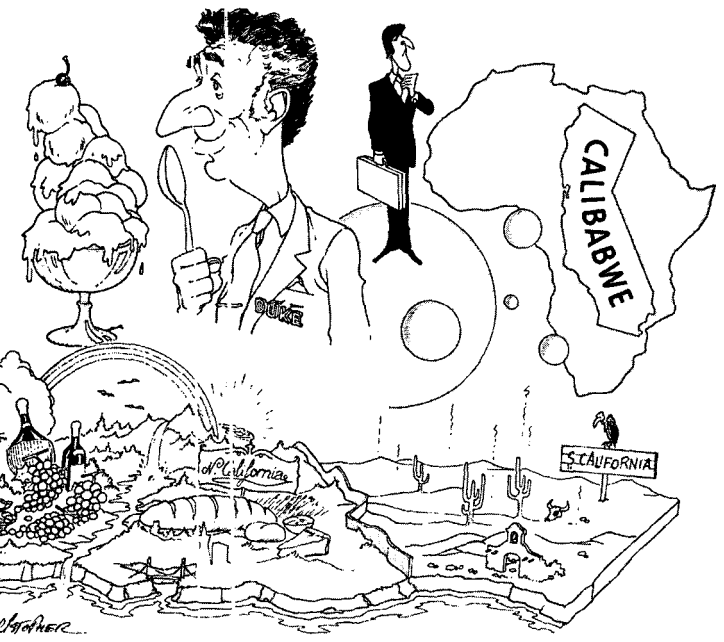
Let's see, who else have you given me now? . . . Pete Wilson! Thanks for nothing! Hayakawa asleep was more exciting than Wilson awake. That's why Wilson hired a vocal coach, to help him out with his speeches and everything. The coach said, "Have you ever thought about sign language?"

I'm grateful for all these people you sent me, but I keep hoping against hope that one day you'd really bail me out and figure out some kind of national office for (Assemblyman) Dick Floyd. Then I will really be happy. You send him to Washington and I will come back and personally thank each one of you individually. I hear he's the clown of the Legislature — he might get lost in the shuffle back there in Washington, I suppose.

• **Jerry Brown:** You almost gave me Jerry Brown; I didn't appreciate that. You let me down on that one, and Brown — well, he's now ambassador to Jupiter . . . Say what you will about Jerry Brown — and you will — his genius is the ability to combine idealism with pragmatism, which means on his Buddhist robes he has a little alligator on the breast pocket.

• **Willie Brown:** I was surprised to see that your speaker of the Assembly, Willie Brown, wanted to move into Jerry Brown's dumpy, old, seedy apartment. I just can't imagine that, I really can't . . . It would be like Reggie Jackson checking into a Trappist monastery . . . And incidentally, Willie Brown is not here tonight, and I'm disappointed. I've never met the man and I'm sorry that he's not here. Unfortunately, we caught him on the one night when all 30 of his tuxedos were at the cleaners.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



• **North vs. South:** I always enjoy coming to California. I still live in Washington D.C., former site of our federal government. And I have spent some time in Los Angeles. I know you don't get along with LA. There's this rivalry between Northern California and Southern California. Well, why don't you put an end to it and split — just do it, do it. There's nothing in the Constitution which says you can't do that; just divide.

But you're not that unique, because every state in this union is in a similar situation. They want to subdivide; it's like a divorce case, really. As a matter of fact, those are the two favorite sports in Los Angeles: jogging and helping a divorced friend move. You should have a separate state of Northern California, a separate state of Southern California, like a divorce. Southern California says, "All right, we'll go, but we get the wine." . . . Anyway, (Los Angeles residents) are not attuned to national politics. They think that Scoop Jackson is Reggie's duller brother. They think the Majority Whip is the name of a leather bar in Venice.

• **Washington, D.C.:** Republicans think of it as the home of the federal government — 2.9 million people doing badly that which need not be done at all. I like to think of it as a place where you can stand at the White House and walk five miles in any direction without leaving the scene of a crime.

• **President Reagan:** I am indebted to Mr. Reagan, because every time he makes a speech he provides me with a little catch-word. A provocative little phrase that tweaks my interest. For example, a few months ago he said that there are 12 million businesses in this country and that if each business hired one extra person, that would eliminate unemployment. Gee, I want to believe that. But can it be that simple? I mean if Ernie's Bar and Grill has to hire one person, shouldn't Exxon hire two?

Shortly after that he said, "I have had it up to my keister with all of these leaks to the press and any violations thereof will be considered to be a direct offense against the keister of state. And so the next day, the *New York Times* dutifully informed its readership that "keister" is a slang word for "rump." But isn't "rump" also a slang word for "po-po?" Keister, Rump and Po-po, it's a law firm here in Sacramento.

The other day he was talking about El Salvador. He said, "Remember, we're not talking about nutmeg here, we're talking about the security of the United States." Well, that may be, but I'm not taking any chances; I'm stocking up a 200-pound bag of nutmeg in the morning. Today the nutmeg, tomorrow the paprika!

• **Nuclear freeze:** Everybody talks about a nuclear freeze. A waste of time, that argument. Where was the nuclear freeze argument 30 years ago when it might have meant something? Today a mutual freeze on both sides would be like a bartender finally cutting off two guys who have each drunk ten boilermakers.

See, if we have 10,000 warheads and the Russians have 10,000 warheads, what's the difference? What if they have 20,000 warheads? What if they have 30,000 warheads? What if one guy has 10 boilermakers and the other guy has 30 boilermakers? Which one is drunker? Don't they each fall an equal distance on the way to the floor?

Now the lines are drawn. It's a volatile argument. One of the groups in favor of a freeze is the Catholic bishops of the United States . . . They're for the freeze, no doubt about it. Although it isn't as if years from now somebody is going to ask a bishop, "What did you do in the war, Daddy?"

And then against the freeze would be that lady who has been in the news a lot over the years, Phyllis Schlafly. She came out (and) said that the nuclear bomb is God's greatest gift to mankind. I would have imagined she would have said the same thing about Mop 'n Glow.

• **Democratic presidential hopefuls:** Meanwhile, the Democrats are gearing up for the big race in 1984. By tradition, their attitude has always been, it is never too early to self-destruct! They're all out there and they travel in a group. It must drive them nuts. They all travel in a group and walk around. It's like a traveling road show, an audition, a floating audition, right? Collectively they're about as presidential as the Rockettes.

They went down to Atlanta, Georgia, in March. Big fund raiser in Atlanta, and it was hosted by the Democratic chairman of Georgia. Do you know who that is? Bert Lance! Bert Lance was there, and he ran this dinner. Well, they raised $200,000 at the dinner — which Lance then borrowed.

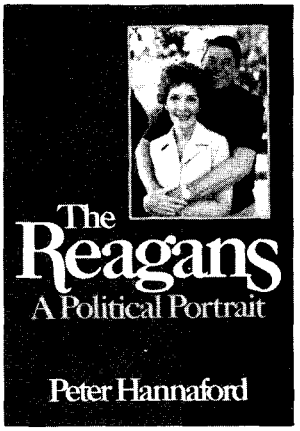
And so you have the new Mondale. New confidence we've never seen. He makes these speeches, and the speeches that Mondale is delivering sound just as refreshing as they did the day that Hubert Humphrey wrote them . . . So, who else? You have a whole new breed of Democrat now. And Gary Hart is their candidate. Now there are several names for this group: the neo-liberal — I don't know what that means. Atari Democrat — I don't know what an Atari Democrat is either; I guess its idea of a deficit is to run out of quarters. Born in a little log Radio Shack. So, Hart, at least he's saying something . . . These are the new Democrats and, of course, their father-figure would be Jerry Brown, I suppose. Maybe not — John Glenn is in that group, even though Glenn is older, and I think that the Democrats would be wise to nominate Glenn simply because Glenn looks like a Republican and so the Republicans would be stymied.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FIRST 'INSIDER'S' BOOK ON REAGAN

Plenty of praise, little insight

By DOUG WILLIS



Longtime Ronald Reagan confidant Peter Hannaford is the first insider to write a book about Reagan's journey from Sacramento to the White House. But Hannaford's *The Reagans: A Political Portrait* (Coward-McCann, $17.95) is a disappointment to anyone looking for an insider book, or even for any insight into the president's personality or philosophy.

Hannaford is as cautious, protective and worshipful of Reagan in this biography as he was during his seven years as aide and campaign adviser. Reagan is saintlike, unselfish, untiring, even-tempered, kindly and possessing a superhuman intellect, who can do no wrong in Hannaford's sugar-coated biography.

Cadence and anecdote

It is generously peppered with phrases such as "He spoke, as usual, with the courage of his convictions," or "I worked up a draft. As usual, he improved upon it."

Hannaford had many different titles during the seven years he served Reagan — confidant, foreign policy adviser, speechwriter, director of public affairs, director of research, public relations adviser, communications director, personal business manager.

As policy adviser, speechwriter and traveling companion to Reagan from 1974 through 1980, Hannaford knew more than just what Reagan thought on most issues. Hannaford knew how Reagan was likely to express himself — right down to the cadence of his speeches, the folksy anecdotes Reagan would choose to make his points, and the philosophical foundation for the future president's views.

He was never as close to Reagan socially as his former business partner, Michael Deaver, who followed Reagan to the White House as deputy chief of staff while Hannaford took over and today still heads the former Deaver & Hannaford lobbying and public relations firm in Washington and California.

But Hannaford's dual role as policy adviser and speechwriter made him a key member of the inner circle and he spent hundreds of hours over the years with Reagan drafting speeches, including what is often described as Reagan's best speech, his acceptance address at the 1980 Republican National Convention.

It should be expected, therefore, that a biography of Reagan by Hannaford would be laudatory and uncritical, yet valuable for its insight and authority. Hannaford delivers the praise but not the insight. His book is filled with insignificant details of meetings and trips, plus texts of Reagan speeches, radio commentaries and newspaper columns. But it is tedious reading, even for the most avid Reagan follower.

All the insight and insider material from Hannaford's 300-page biography could comfortably be covered in four to five pages, specifically his first-person accounts of the negotiations to offer the vice presidential nomination to Gerald Ford in 1980 and the maneuvering earlier that year to dump John Sears as campaign manager. But even in those instances, Hannaford only confirms previous accounts, adding little new information.

One case in which Hannaford provides some insight into the thinking of the people around Reagan was certainly inadvertent. Describing one of the many instances in which Reagan quoted inaccurate statistics or "facts" to make his points in campaign speeches, Hannaford dismissed the questions and negative stories with the contemptuous comment, "Some in the media were playing the 'facts' game again."

The 'noble cause' quote

Hannaford denies all of Reagan's shortcomings as distortions by the press. In most cases, this is done within acceptable bounds of personal interpretation, because Hannaford makes no attempt to hide his admiration for Reagan or write a journalistically objective account.

But Hannaford's descriptions of several campaign events which I personally covered go beyond the bounds of interpretation. Some events simply didn't occur as Hannaford describes them, and Reagan wasn't the innocent victim of the press that Hannaford describes.

The most significant of these was how Reagan called the Vietnam War "a noble cause" during the 1980 campaign. Hannaford said that was a casual ad lib which the press seized upon and blew out of proportion. It wasn't. It was in the prepared text of a major speech and was one of the major points of that speech, a far different circumstance than Hannaford describes. I vividly recall being startled at the Vietnam remarks as I read the advance text on the Reagan plane en route to the speech, and listened carefully to see that he actually read them as written before filing my story. I still have that speech text in my files and looked it up to confirm that my memory was accurate.

The greatest value of Hannaford's book is as a reference to Reagan speeches and writings between 1975 and 1980, which are indexed conveniently by subject. It's a good addition to the reference shelf, but little more.

Doug Willis is chief of the Associated Press bureau in Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A new front in the water wars: introducing the 'public trust' factor

By HARRISON C. DUNNING

Those involved with California's continuing water wars have a new element to consider these days: the Mono Lake decision of the state Supreme Court. Although ramifications of the ruling may not be apparent for years, there can be no doubt that it will raise new obstacles for those who would divert California's natural stream flows to farm and city use.

The decision *(National Audubon Society v. Superior Court, Alpine County)*, handed down February 17th, declares in effect that water may not be taken from a navigable river, lake or similar natural source without concern for possible harm to the source itself. Previous law was more concerned with deciding whether the water would be put to some reasonable and beneficial use.

Actually, California law has been moving toward source protection for nearly 30 years, most notably with passage of the Porter-Cologne Water Quality Control Act of 1969 and the California Environmental Quality Act of 1970. But until now the mandate was not so clearly stated and was therefore easier to evade.

In the case of Mono Lake, the decision means that the City of Los Angeles may no longer take water from the lake basin without concern for the fact that the lake is drying up. If the courts or the State Water Resources Control Board decide later that the city's diversions must be decreased, then Los Angeles will have to look elsewhere for whatever water it may lose.

But the decision, of course, covers far more than the situation at Mono Lake. One might argue, for instance, that California's two most important water delivery networks — the federal government's Central Valley Project and the State Water Project — are harming San Francisco Bay by diverting its fresh water sources into San Joaquin Valley agriculture and the cities of the South. If a state agency or the courts should ever agree and order reductions in federal and/or state diversions, California's economy and lifestyle could undergo considerable change.

Clearly, the decision represents a major victory for environmentalists, giving them a new and stronger position which, for the moment at least, seems secure. The court has been asked for a rehearing on the issue, but only so that it may clarify various provisions. Also, although the decision has generated some grumbling in the Legislature, there is nothing in the works (as of this writing) to undercut it. Legislative sources say that a constitutional amendment probably would be needed to undo the ruling, but passage would require a two-thirds vote in each house and approval by voters.

Mono Lake is a large, saline body of water on the eastern side of the Sierra, just east of Yosemite National Park. Most of its fresh water comes from five mountain streams that flow into it from the west. In 1940, Los Angeles received a state permit to take virtually the entire flow from four of the five. However, it was not until 1970, with enlargement of the city's delivery system, that maximum diversions began.

The city's actions have caused the lake level to decline dramatically. The surface area has diminished by one-third, leaving a ring of muck around the lake and causing one of its principal islands to become, at times, a peninsula. As a result, a bird nesting area there has been exposed to coyotes and other predators from the shore. Also, increasing salinity threatens the lake's brine shrimp populations which furnish food for millions of local and migratory birds.

Los Angeles officials have contended that damages to the lake have been overstated, and there has been considerable technical dispute over the ultimate impact of further massive diversions. (Because of this year's wet winter, the lake is rising again.) But when all was said and done, the Supreme Court found "little doubt" that both scenic and ecological values at the lake are imperiled.

Harrison C. Dunning, who teaches law at UC Davis, is chairman of the California Water Protection Council, proponents of the water conservation measure (Proposition 13) defeated last November.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What did the court do? Essentially, it placed its stamp of approval on the legal theory used by the National Audubon Society to challenge the Los Angeles diversions. The society's suit, filed May 21st, 1979, contended that California's historic doctrine of "public trust" protects the state's navigable waters even when they are subject to water rights.

Under principles of law that go back to Roman times, the state holds waterways, tidelands and other "special character" resources in trust for the public. And though the state may sell or lease the underlying land to private parties or other public entities, the new owners must continue to observe the "public trust." Thus, they may not erect barriers or take other actions that would prevent the public from using the waterways for commerce, fishing and similar activities.

If, then, the owners of a lake were diminishing public use by filling it with dirt, they could be stopped under the doctrine of "public trust." Therefore, argued the Audubon Society, if the owners of water rights to tributaries above the lake were diminishing public use by taking too much water, they also should be stopped.

In agreeing with the society, the court overrode contentions from the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power that the city's desert environment creates a water need so great that the public trust doctrine is irrelevant. After the decision came down, attorney Adolph Moskovitz, representing the department, said the ruling opens a "Pandora's box" that will allow most water rights to be challenged by anybody.

Although the decision is a victory for the Audubon Society, the case is not finished. When the Supreme Court ruling is final, the case returns to the federal judge in Sacramento who had sent it to the state courts in the first place. U.S. District Judge Lawrence Karlton wanted to know the legal relationship between the state doctrines of "public trust" and "appropriative water rights." Presumably, having been told now that "public trust" must be considered, he will make his findings accordingly.

Environmentalists also were cheered by the decision's declaration that persons seeking enforcement of the public trust may apply directly to the courts. Thus, an environmental request for action to protect some public resource will not have to wend its way first through the state's administrative procedures, a journey that could take years. However, the court encouraged lower courts not to become too deeply involved, encouraging use of established procedures for referring items to the State Water Resources Control Board.

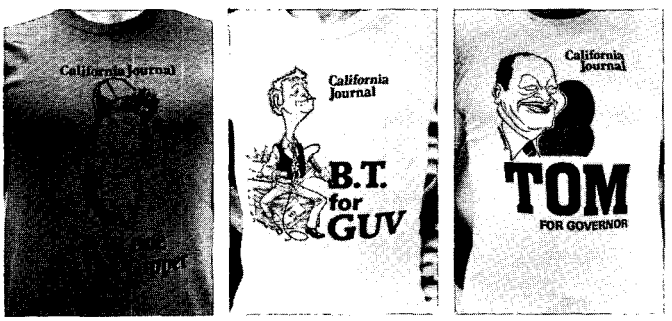
Two of the justices expressed reservations about granting immediate access to the courts. But the two, Associate Justices Frank Richardson and Otto Kaus, joined with colleagues Stanley Mosk, Cruz Reynoso and Chief Justice Rose Bird on the public trust points made in the opinion written by Associate Justice Allen Broussard. There were only six votes from the seven-member court because former Associate Justice Frank Newman, who heard the case when it was argued 10 months ago, has retired.

Options for Los Angeles

At the moment, Los Angeles diverts about 10,000 acre feet annually from the Mono Basin — about 17 percent of the city's water supply. Clearly, any significant reduction in the flow would require a city response, and there are several possibilities. A 1979 report, for instance, recommended increases in water conservation, wastewater reclamation and water purchases from the Metropolitan Water District. However, since the MWD gets much of its water from the State Water Project, any increase for Los Angeles could come at the expense of agricultural interests in the San Joaquin Valley. This is so because valley agriculture receives water that MWD is entitled to but does not presently use.

In the Mono Lake litigation, perhaps the most important fact of all is that the state agency that granted Los Angeles its Mono Basin water rights in 1940 knew that environmental damage would occur but believed it was powerless to reduce or prevent it. But all that is changed. From now on, the state must protect what the court calls "the people's common heritage of streams, lakes, marshlands and tidelands."

T-Shirt Clearance Sale



The exigencies of California politics being what they are, we find ourselves with a few left-over T-shirts we'd like to clear out. These fine-quality, 100% preshrunk cotton shirts sold for $7.95 last year. While supplies last you can get these "collectors' items" for $5.00 each, including tax and shipping. The three shirts and available sizes are:

Reagan: "Win one for the Gipper" Black on orange:
Small _____ Medium _____

B. T. Collins: "B. T. for Guv" Black on powder blue:
Small _____ Medium _____ Extra Large _____

Tom Bradley: "Tom for Governor" Black on yellow:
Small _____ Medium _____ Large _____
Extra Large _____

Orders must be pre-paid. Send payment and size requested to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Competing with the Democrats for the growing Hispanic vote

By KENNETH C. BURT

Hispanic Republican. Until recently, these words were used to describe disparate groups. Everyone *knew* that the state's Hispanics were poor, Catholic and tied to the party of Franklin Roosevelt and John and Robert Kennedy.

The vast majority of the news media and a large number of politicians still labor under this illusion. However, California's largest ethnic group is hardly monolithic. As far back as 1972, after Richard Nixon had wooed Hispanics for four years and had the good fortune to get George McGovern as an opponent, California Hispanics gave him 26 percent of their vote.

However, whatever trend may have been developing among Hispanics soon ended, largely because of Watergate but also because of Jerry Brown. Having made a commitment to Hispanics a pillar of his administration, he surely kept many Hispanics within the Democratic fold. But Republicans were not idle during Brown's administration. Breaking tradition, the GOP named its first Hispanic chairman in 1980, Tirso del Junco, and under his leadership formed the California Hispanic Republican Council, now some 2,000 strong. In any case, with Brown's departure, California's Hispanic politics was ready for change.

One of the first indications of Republican strength among Hispanics occurred before last November's election when the Democratically dominated Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) came close to endorsing George Deukmejian for governor. Democrat Tom Bradley eventually triumphed, but only after his operatives pulled out all the stops.

In the November election itself, Deukmejian received between a fourth and a third of the Hispanic vote. Mervin Field's California Poll estimates 26.5 percent, or 125,000 Hispanic votes for Deukmejian. Other polls indicate higher numbers, one up to 35 percent.

So the question is: What happens now? Clearly, Republicans see the importance of the Hispanic vote and are working for a bigger share. "Our future as a political party is in the hands of the Hispanics, due to their increasing percentage of the population," says Assembly Minority Leader Bob Naylor. Not surprisingly, much of the GOP effort is centered in Deukmejian's office.

AVILA

MENDEZ

CALDERON

The new leaders

Two men — Gil Avila and Andres Mendez — have been working hard to see that more Hispanics do in fact become Republican. Ironically, both are veterans of Democratic Party politics. Avila, 46, is the son of a farmworker turned printer. In 1966 he ran unsuccessfully for the state Assembly against an Anglo in a largely Hispanic district in Los Angeles. Today he is one of seven senior assistants to Governor Deukmejian and the person behind numerous organizing efforts. He put together the GOP faction within MAPA, co-founded the Hispanic Republican Council and coordinated the successful "Viva Duke" campaign. Prior to his current appointment, Avila served as the California Hispanic coordinator for President Gerald Ford and as a special assistant to Attorney General Deukmejian.

Mendez, 38, was born of immigrant parents and raised in East Los Angeles. In 1968 he served as a local campaign coordinator for presidential candidate Robert Kennedy. Today he is the state director of the Department of Veterans Affairs. Mendez worked closely with Avila in the "Viva Duke" campaign and in bringing Republicans into MAPA. He also organized the Sacramento Republican League, through which he gained power in the statewide California Republican League. A former Marine and Coro Fellow, Mendez was the executive secretary to the California Veterans Board under Governor Brown.

A third individual important to the GOP trend is Julio Calderon, state MAPA president. A former Democratic candidate for a Fresno Assembly seat, Calderon has pushed his organization into becoming increasingly bipartisan. According to Calderon, the Hispanic community has historically been ignored by the Republicans and taken for granted by the Democrats. The suggested solution to this dilemma: Force both parties to court Hispanics by swinging large blocs of votes back and forth between them. In order to make such a threat credible, there has to be an organized Republican presence in the community.

For the new Hispanic Republicans and the GOP as a whole, this bipartisan shift is a welcome opportunity. But for Democratic Hispanics, it represents an uncharted fork in the road. Can the community provide enough active Republicans to provide leverage in dealing with Democratic politicians, without losing too many from their po-

Kenneth C. Burt, a Sacramento native and graduate student at Harvard University, is author of a forthcoming book on the history of Hispanic politics in California.

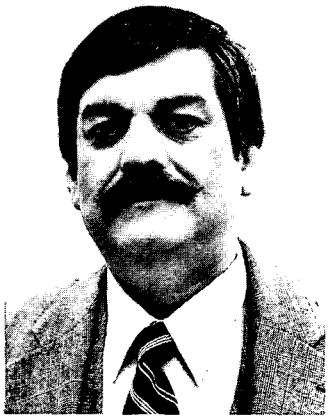
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

litical home base? Hispanic leaders predict that a sizeable minority, say 30 percent, will actually become "swing voters," supporting Democratic candidates in some elections and Republicans in others.

According to Calderon, MAPA and the Latino community have nothing to lose, and a lot to gain, as a result of increased competition. The courting of the Hispanic vote by both parties has already led to some gains: The value of MAPA's endorsement has increased exponentially, and both Bradley and Deukmejian promised last year to continue the path-breaking efforts of the Brown Administration on behalf of Hispanics.

Governor Deukmejian appears not only to be keeping his pre-election promises but is rewarding those Hispanics who helped to achieve his narrow victory. Because MAPA opened its doors to Republicans and gave Deukmejian an honest shot at its endorsement, the group appears to be in a position of favor, even though it endorsed the losing candidate. Several of the top Hispanics already appointed to Deukmejian Administration posts have come from MAPA's ranks. And Calderon predicts that he will have as much access to Deukmejian as he enjoyed with Brown.

GUERRA



GUTIERREZ

CASTRO

The methodical pace of the new administration's appointment process has frustrated some Hispanics, Calderon admits. "There are a hell of a lot of Hispanics who stuck their necks out for the guy (Deukmejian)," he told the *Sacramento Union* recently. "And they are not being rewarded. All we've been told is 'wait and see.'" Is such frustration a sign that the new GOP-Hispanic honeymoon is already over? "Not at all," Calderon says. "It's more like a marriage that is settling in."

So far, the "marriage" has resulted in a list of Hispanic appointments that, in addition to Avila and Mendez, includes:

- Mark Guerra, director of Fair Employment and Housing;
- Chon Gutierrez, assistant director of Finance;
- Rudolph Castro, member of the Board of Prison Terms;
- Ivonne Ramos Richardson and Michael Navarro, labor negotiators in the Department of Personnel Administration;
- Ralph Ramirez, administrative director of the Division of Industrial Accidents.

There are still more Hispanic appointments to be announced, Calderon says. He is especially concerned about administrative posts for qualified women, for representation on "professional boards and commissions, not just in social welfare agencies," and for at least one Hispanic at the appellate court level. After the elevation of Cruz Reynoso to the state Supreme Court, the appellate courts have no Hispanic judges, Calderon says.

Some upset Democrats

As expected, the Democratic Party and its leaders are the least excited about the new developments. "Democrats in office are upset (by the way Hispanics voted in the last election)," says Joe Sanchez, a widely recognized Los Angeles community leader and successful fund-raiser. Yet Sanchez supports the need for an active GOP element in the Hispanic community. "Hispanic volunteers are saying that, while we may not like Deukmejian, now we have a lever." A few community leaders and local elected officials also supported Deukmejian.

Publicly, many Democratic leaders and elected officials have downplayed or denied the significance of the Hispanic vote for Deukmejian. Democratic state Senator Art Torres concedes that the Hispanic community is generally conservative. "It is just like any other immigrant group," he says. "Hispanics came seeking a better life and a higher income for themselves and their families. I have yet to see, though, whether this means they will become Republican."

State Democratic Party Vice Chairwoman Carmen Perez understands why some Hispanic voters are flirting with the GOP. "Speaking not as a party official but as a Chicana, I would like to have seen more attention paid to the Hispanic community by the Bradley campaign," she says. "I appreciate (Hispanic) frustration when they say that the Democratic Party has taken us for granted."

Believing that the "most important thing in politics is organization," Avila has taken the initiative. Besides the "Viva Duke" campaign and the Hispanic Republican Council, Avila has worked patiently to gain power within MAPA for the GOP wing. With the blessing and open support of then-party chief Tirso Del Junco and Attorney General Deukmejian, numerous Hispanics found their way onto the party's State Central Committee, various county committees and elsewhere within the GOP statewide network.

Probably the biggest test for the new Hispanic Republicans will be to elect one of their own to the state Legislature or to Congress. First, an attractive candidate must be found in a district that is roughly 30 percent Republican and 30 percent Hispanic. Second, the Republican Party and some conservative political action committees must support the effort. And third, Democratic Hispanic voters must be convinced to cross party lines to vote for one of their own.

This is admittedly a tall order, but one that is receiving an increasing amount of attention. Avila predicts that "in two years we can expect to see some very viable Hispanic Republican Assembly candidates." Adds Assembly Minority Leader Naylor, the "marriage" of Hispanics and Republicans in a targeted district would "increase its attractiveness to us, because he or she could swing normally Democratic voters over to our side."

Putting such an effort into perspective, MAPA's Calderon asks, "Can you imagine the signal that this would send to Hispanics around the state — that the Republican Party was not only willing to pay us lip service, but actually committed the resources necessary to elect an Hispanic?"

Yet Calderon takes pains to emphasize his bipartisanship: "We are in no way abandoning our Hispanic Democrats, especially our elected officials like (state Senator Richard) Alatorre and Torres," he says. "I can't ever see us supporting an Anglo Republican over an Hispanic Democrat."

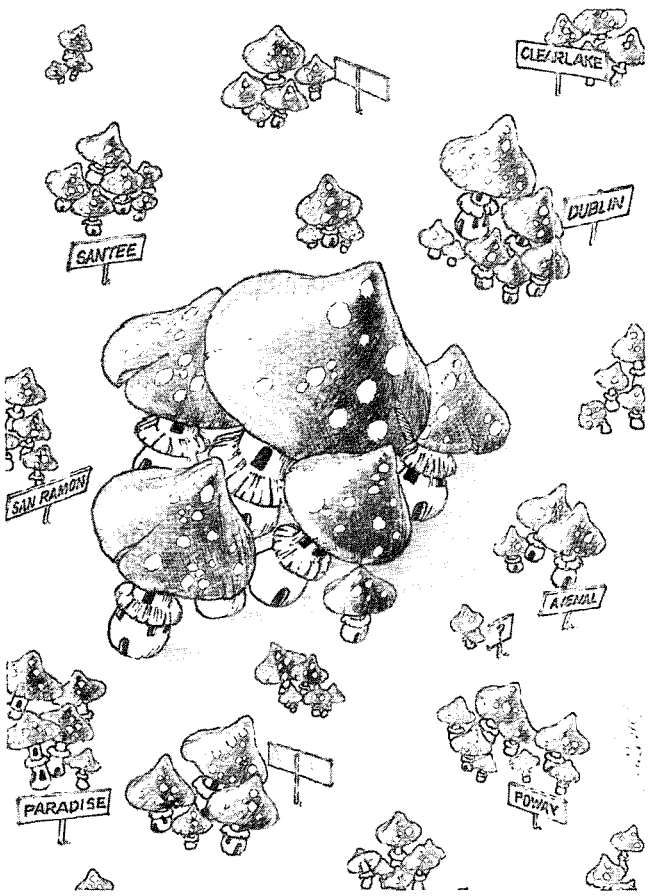
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The rush to incorporate — why it's happening, what it means

By ALVIN D. SOKOLOW and LINDA MARTIN

When residents in Moorpark (Ventura County) and San Ramon (Contra Costa) voted to incorporate their communities on the same day in March, they approved California's 433rd and 434th cities. They also joined a growing list of suburban and rural towns which, in the past few years, have seized upon municipal incorporation as a means of gaining control over growth, public services and local government revenues.

Just since 1978, the year of Proposition 13, 17 new cities with a combined population of about 270,000 have been organized. At a rate of about four a year, this is twice the pace of annual incorporations approved during the previous decade, 1968-78. In fact, the current interest in incorporation is even more widespread than the record indicates, since many proposals are delayed in reaching the ballot or are rejected by the voters. While eight new California cities were approved in the last two years (see box), voters were denying proposals in eight other places (Fallbrook, American Canyon, East Palo Alto, Kensington, Moreno Valley, San Dieguito, Hesperia and Mendocino). Even more efforts are on the way, as many other communities give serious consideration to the advantages of cityhood.



It is much harder to form new cities today than in the 20-year period after World War II, when 111 incorporations were approved — the historic peak for California. Since 1963 all proposals for new cities, as well as for annexations and other kinds of changes in local government boundaries, have had to undergo the LAFCO (Local Agency Formation Commission) review in each county. The requirement for an environmental impact review was added more recently. Incorporation efforts as a result are more complex and take longer to complete. Also they are more controversial locally, as pro- and anti-city forces argue over issues of development, services and political control.

In the face of such procedural and political obstacles, why has the interest in city incorporation expanded so greatly since the late '70s? There are three related causes, with their common ingredient a desire for more local control:

- **Proposition 13,** the property-tax-cutting initiative of 1978. Cities generally have greater revenue-producing powers than other governments, especially special districts. By limiting property taxes, Proposition 13 in 1978 made the cities' revenue flexibility more apparent and thus gave a boost to incorporation efforts in communities with underfunded services. Proposition 13 also helped the cause of municipal formation in quite a different fashion: Since it made it impossible for cities (or any other local governments) to increase property taxes beyond the new constitutional limit of $1 per $100 market value, 13 effectively eliminated the most popular argument previously used against incorporation — the possibility that a new city would raise the property tax rate.

- **Dissatisfaction** with county government services and planning. Several recent incorporations were successful because sheriffs' patrols responded slowly to local calls or local streets and roads were in deplorable condition. Either county resources were spread too thin or county decision-makers and administrators were too distant and indifferent to pay sufficient attention to a locality's problems. However, after incorporation some new cities — such as Big Bear Lake and Dublin — turned around and contracted with their counties to continue to provide police protection, road maintenance and other services. Generally these communities had been unhappy with the level of county services provided, but not the quality. Instead of paying the heavy initial costs to establish new departments, they used their new revenues to set the terms and to obtain a greater quantity of county-

Alvin D. Sokolow and Linda Martin are researchers at the Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis. They are two of the co-authors of Choices for the Unincorporated Community, *a guide to local government options in California. Sokolow is also professor of political science at Davis.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

administered services. Where quality was the issue, cities tended to create their own departments, as in the local police forces organized by Paradise and Clearlake.

• **The fear of** being gobbled up through annexation to existing cities which covet tax base and room to expand, or the desire to wrest control over land-use decisions from the county board of supervisors and planning commission. In at least 14 of the 17 cities incorporated since 1978, residents were unhappy with county general planning, zoning, subdivision, or building regulation practices. In some cases the pro-incorporation forces were opposed to further development. Elsewhere they favored growth of a particular type and wanted to streamline lengthy county permit procedures.

Organizing a new municipality in some communities is intended to slow down or stop further urbanization, to keep a rural atmosphere and amenities. For example, Poway and La Habra Heights incorporated in large part to preserve their horsetrails. A new city can even avoid the designation "city" in its title. Paradise and Danville officially are "towns," a semantic gesture symbolizing the purpose of their incorporations.

Not everybody benefits when a city is organized. Other governments and nearby communities may lose revenues, experience adverse land-use impacts, or suffer because of fragmented service areas. The fear for others posed by any proposed incorporation is that the new city will skim off the cream, leaving the whey to other governmental entities.

County governments could be the biggest losers from the statewide proliferation of new cities. At least two counties (Butte and Contra Costa) have experienced serious revenue shortages stimulated by recent incorporations. Ideally this should not happen, since the shift of property taxes and other revenues from the county to a new city is supposed to equal the savings that the county earns by giving up some service responsibilities. Some counties complain, however, that their finances suffer because the exchange fails to account fully for overhead costs and continuing service obligations to remaining unincorporated areas. Budgets for a sheriff's department or planning staff, for example, are not easily reduced by amounts previously expended for services to the newly incorporated community.

A further burden for a county government is the "free rider" arrangement. Under state law it must continue to deliver services to a new city for the remainder of the fiscal year after incorporation, although the revenue shifts begin almost immediately. The problem is especially severe for small counties, where an incorporation can represent a sizable chunk of countywide population and revenue base, and for counties that have a high level of incorporation activity.

New Cities in California

City and county	Effective date	Population	Area in square miles
Grand Terrace San Bernardino County	11/25/78	9,344	5.9
La Habra Heights Los Angeles County	12/4/78	7,000	6.2
Atascadero San Luis Obispo County	6/6/79	17,800	29
Avenal Kings County	9/18/79	3,700	16
Paradise Butte County	11/17/79	23,000	18
Clearlake Lake County	11/19/80	15,000	10.2
Poway San Diego County	11/1/80	37,000	37
Santee San Diego County	12/2/80	50,000	18.5
Big Bear Lake San Bernardino County	12/1/80	6,500	6.75
Cathedral City Riverside County	11/16/81	11,500	14.9
Dublin Alameda County	2/1/82	13,496	4
Westlake Village Los Angeles County	12/11/81	10,650	5.44
La Quinta Riverside County	5/1/82	4,755	19
Danville Contra Costa County	7/1/82	26,000	19
Agoura Hills Los Angeles County	12/8/82	13,000	8
San Ramon Contra Costa County	7/1/83	24,000	7
Moorpark Ventura County	7/1/83	10,000	13

The lack of guidelines

The LAFCOs have virtually complete discretion to approve or disapprove applications for the ballot. Some commissions use this discretion carefully, rejecting proposals or mitigating external impacts through boundary changes, revised fiscal projections and other measures. Other commissions see their role as a matter of expediting proposals, with little analysis of external impacts or even a new city's financial feasibility. This variation is understandable, since there are no state guidelines that can be applied to incorporation decisions other than general statutory language about the "discouragement of urban sprawl" and the "encouragement of orderly formation and development." Even minimum population standards were eliminated by the Municipal Organization Act of 1977.

Certainly many commissions, composed in large part of elected city and county officials, are sympathetic to the pleas of local control. Against these values, though, are other considerations. The viability of some new cities is questionable, and incorporations often have adverse impacts on other governments and communities. All of this points up the need to reexamine current state policy — or the absence of policy — about minimum standards for city status, incorporation review procedures, and finances. Should the state continue to reward new cities with multiple revenue sources when existing local governments must compete for diminishing pots of money? Is it desirable to form new cities — originally intended to serve the comprehensive needs of large populations — for very narrow and frequently anti-urban purposes?

These are questions that will become more important as many more communities seek to incorporate. Almost 6 million Californians — a quarter of the state's population — still live outside of incorporated municipalities. Despite the negative connotations of "city" life for many of them, all indications point to a continuation and perhaps acceleration of the city formation trend. Incorporation efforts are in various stages of preparation in a dozen or more places throughout the state including Orinda, Alamo, Solano Beach, Dana Point, Rancho Cordova, Topanga, Truckee, North Tahoe, Yucca Valley, Lake Arrowhead, Loomis, Hacienda Heights and Spring Valley.

Under existing laws, you can have your rural atmosphere and your municipal government as well. Perhaps the time has come to take a closer look at the desirability and consequences of this for all of California.

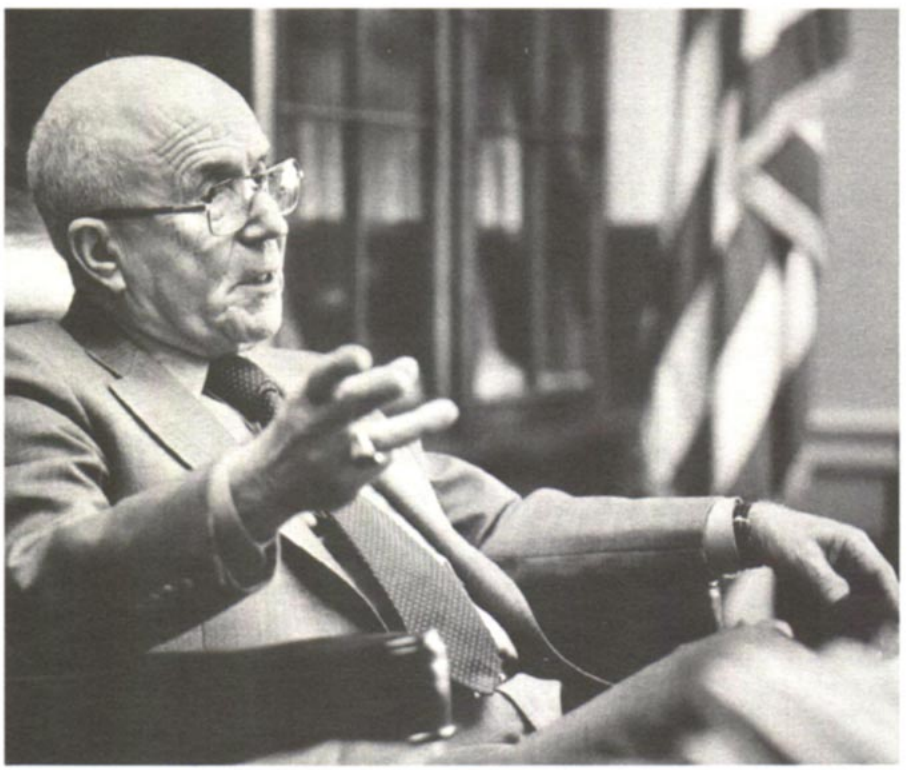
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congressman Gus Hawkins, quiet fighter for racial justice

By MARTIN SALDITCH

The *Washington Post* once called him one of the more famous unknown men of the day, and even now, having held continuous elective office longer than any other politician in California, he is still largely unknown.

He is Congressman Augustus F. (Gus) Hawkins, a light-skinned man who could have passed for white long ago and lived an entirely different life. But he identified himself as black from the start and began fighting for anti-discrimination laws when it was still grueling and lonely to do so.



The courtly, 75-year-old Democrat has represented the Watts area of Los Angeles for 48 years — 20 in the House of Representatives and 28 before in the state Assembly.

A small (5 feet, 5 inches, 148 pounds), kindly man who one writer said "looks a little like everyone's favorite uncle," Hawkins makes few House speeches or newspaper headlines. "I don't believe in embarrassing people," he says. "For example, I've had to work with government agency officials in Sacramento and Washington who I knew were racist. But instead of so accusing them in the press, I would work with them in making the changes needed to eliminate discrimination. They would appreciate my attitude, and I won their friendship."

During an interview in his Washington office, Hawkins said he has no plans to retire at the end of his current two-year term. But some younger politicos are thinking "vacancy" nonetheless. In fact, one of them, Democratic Assemblywoman Maxine Waters of Los Angeles, threatened to stall the Democrats' reapportionment bill last December unless Hawkins' district boundaries were changed to improve her chances of becoming his successor. Waters, a black, was fearful that the district's black and Hispanic votes might split, throwing the victory to a white candidate.

To meet her fears, Democratic leaders took two-thirds of Downey (Waters had called the city "rednecky") from the Hawkins district, thus reducing the Anglo and Hispanic votes. Hawkins says Waters called him at the time and he had no objections.

In any case, the architect of reapportionment and an old Hawkins friend, the late Democratic Congressman Phil Burton of San Francisco, predicted before his death that Hawkins would be in Congress through the 1980s. "If Gus was safe before, he's even safer now," Burton said.

The two congressmen served in the Assembly together, and Burton said Hawkins was responsible for much of his political training and upbringing. When he was a freshman legislator, Burton recalled he was sitting on a committee that was considering one of Hawkins' bills. Burton didn't like the measure but never got a chance to express himself because Hawkins took all of Burton's allotted time in answering Burton's first question. Burton said he complained, "Gus, you took advantage of me." To which Hawkins replied, "No, I taught you a lesson."

By and large, Hawkins is known as a hardworking, trustworthy but low-key legislator who concentrates on issues of importance to his district. Hawkins himself says he prefers to work behind the scenes and let others capture the headlines. The *Post* description of him as a famous unknown man came in 1978 when he co-authored the Humphrey-Hawkins Act.

Although Hawkins first introduced full employment legislation in 1973, it didn't begin attracting attention until the late Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota added some

Martin Salditch is the Washington correspondent for the Riverside Press-Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

features to it and began pushing it in the Senate. It finally passed in 1978 as a tribute to Humphrey, who died in office of cancer, after the bill was shorn of enforcement provisions. The act pledged federal government efforts to reduce unemployment to 4 percent by 1983, if the business sector failed to do so. In fact, unemployment has risen since then to 10 percent.

Hawkins concedes that "very little has resulted" from the law so far, but still considers it his greatest legislative accomplishment because it establishes "a real blueprint for moving this country ahead in job-training and employment — a foundation to every other policy."

Today, as second-ranking member in seniority on the House Education and Labor Committee, Hawkins continues to play a major role in jobs legislation. If the committee chairman, 70-year-old Democrat Carl Perkins of Kentucky, should leave, Hawkins would be in line to succeed him. However, Hawkins' influence springs from other sources as well. In 1981 he became chairman of the House Administration Committee, the group that sets budgets for other committees and for House members' office operations. "We are in a position to do a lot of favors for members in terms of their office allowances. In that sense, we do make a lot of friends," Hawkins says.

A product of the Depression

Hawkins' life was profoundly affected by the Great Depression of the 1930s. Among other things, it forced his father, a Los Angeles pharmacist, out of business and eliminated Hawkins' plans to study engineering at UC Berkeley. (He had graduated from UCLA in 1931 with a major in economics.) Instead, he went into the real estate business for several years and eventually entered politics, winning an Assembly seat in 1934.

The Watts district was then half black and half white, and Hawkins said he still isn't sure if his white complexion was a help or a hindrance in winning his first election. He speculated, "Many blacks may have voted against me because they didn't know I was black, and possibly many whites voted for me because they thought I was white."

Hawkins says he decided at an early age not to try to "pass" as a white man after observing his family in Louisiana, where he was born, and in Los Angeles, where the family moved when he was 11 years old in 1918. "I could go into a place that a brother of mine couldn't," he recalls. "It made me militantly an individual who didn't want that kind of society. I wanted nothing of pretending to being anything other than what I was."

His father, Nyanza Hawkins, was a light-skinned, British-born adventurer who explored Africa before coming to the United States around the turn of the century. "My mother was brown-skinned and had some Indian blood," the congressman says. "There's a lot of different blood in our family."

Although a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, Hawkins has never sought to be its chairman, although he has more seniority than most of its current 21 members. "To be a black leader would be disadvantageous," he explains, because the feeling would always be that whatever I accomplished, critics would say, 'That's due to his white blood.' "

Hawkins' record in Sacramento includes passage of the state's first laws against discrimination in housing and employment. He also carried successful state legislation concerning minimum wages for women, child care centers, workers' compensation for domestic employees, and the removal of racial designations from state documents.

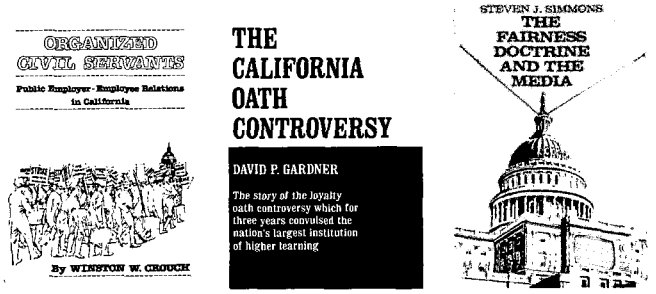
When asked about Hawkins, another colleague, Democrat Fortney (Pete) Stark of Oakland, describes him this way: "His style is to never, ever forget where he came from and the people he serves, who are mostly the downtrodden."

Special $8.95 Offer

Discounts of 50 percent or more for *Journal* readers.

The *California Journal* has made a special purchase of three University of California Press books which will interest many of our readers.

The three books are all **hard-bound** books discussing current issues and are available now at **50 percent or more off the list price.**


ORGANIZED CIVIL SERVANTS
Public Employer-Employee Relations in California
By WINSTON W. CROUCH
THE CALIFORNIA OATH CONTROVERSY
DAVID P. GARDNER
The story of the loyalty oath controversy which for three years convulsed the nation's largest institution of higher learning
STEVEN J. SIMMONS
THE FAIRNESS DOCTRINE AND THE MEDIA

The California Oath Controversy, by David P. Gardner. The fascinating account of the 1949-1952 loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." Hardcover, 329 pages, 1967. List price: $16.50.

The Fairness Doctrine and the Media, by Steven J. Simmons. Describes and analyzes the "fairness doctrine" which regulates radio and television programming about controversial issues. Simmons concludes that no one has been well served by what is actually an "unfairness doctrine." Hardcover, 285 pages, 1978. List price: $18.95.

Organized Civil Servants: Public Employer-Employee Relations in California, by Winston W. Crouch. Written by one of the leading scholars of California government, this book analyzes the history of the state's public employee relations policies and the efforts made to reconcile collective bargaining with the concepts and procedures of merit civil service. Hardcover, 302 pages, 1978. List price: $27.50

You can buy the above books for only $8.95 each including tax and shipping. **Prepaid orders only.** Send check or MasterCard or Visa number to *California Journal,* 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814. To make ordering even easier and quicker, you may call in your order: (916) 444-2840. Have your credit card number ready.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The uncertain fate of that traffic adjudication experiment

By ED REMITZ

California motorists receive about 5 million traffic tickets annually for speeding, running red lights, making improper turns and other such "infractions." Because there are so many of them, "infractions" place an enormous burden on the courts, and for many years some of the deeper thinkers at the state Capitol have been wondering if that's where the burden belongs. After all, does it really make sense to have a high-priced judge decide whether Joe Fastlane zipped through the intersection when the light was red or when it was still yellow? (We're talking here only about "infractions." No one is saying that the more serious offenses -- the misdemeanors and felonies involving drunken driving or hit-and-run — should be removed from the courts.)

In any case, the Legislature decided a few years ago to experiment. Thus, on October 1st, 1980, the Traffic Adjudication Board (TAB) was born. Operating only in the adjoining counties of Sacramento and Yolo, it is designed to process the maximum number of infractions at the lowest possible cost. And, according to independent studies, that's what it's been doing so far. Excluding costs associated with its pilot program status, TAB has been handling traffic tickets at an average cost of $12 each. This is $7 below the average court cost in Sacramento and $1 below the average for the more rural Yolo.

Essentially, the program works like this: TAB operates two offices, one in Sacramento and the other in Woodland, the county seat of Yolo. Each is open from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday, and until 9 p.m. on one evening each week. Ticketed motorists may walk in anytime to pay their fines or — for those who believe they were wronged — request a hearing at once. If a hearing is requested, the motorist sits down with a hearing officer and tells his story. The officer, having reviewed the citation, then decides whether to impose the fine, reduce it, set some other punishment (often driver school) or drop the charge altogether. In effect, the hearing officer is doing what a traffic judge might do at an arraignment, where protesting motorists must first take their stories. But the surroundings are far less intimidating.

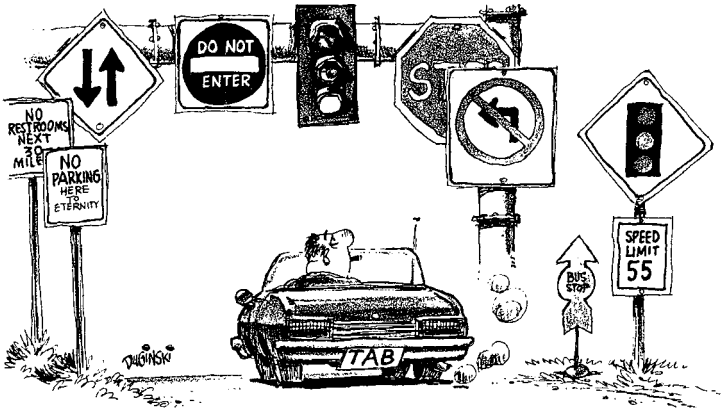
So when is this relatively relaxed process that saves taxpayers a bundle going statewide? The answer is: not soon. In fact, the program was at death's door until only recently, when some bottom-line negotiations gave it a new lease on life. At the moment, it looks as though it may continue locally for another year, but after that . . . who knows?

TAB's problem was opposition from law enforcement, and especially from the state's top ticket-writing agency, the California Highway Patrol. In general, the traffic cops contended that TAB wasn't tough enough on many of the traffic offenders who protested their tickets and got hearings. "Our main concern was the number of people who were just beating the system," says Captain Dwight Helmick, special representative for the CHP.

Ed Remitz is a staff writer for The Sacramento Union.

TAB is run by a five-member board composed of gubernatorial appointees named by former Governor Jerry Brown. Board members work only part-time, mostly to set policy and hear appeals from hearing-officer decisions. Each receives a modest salary of about $8,500 a year. Day-to-day operations are under the board's full-time director, Thomas J. Novi.

Novi, formerly a staff manager with the Department of Motor Vehicles, says TAB saves money in several ways. Its hearing officers (there are four) are paid $27,000 a year,



half the $54,000 annually that goes to a municipal judge. (Novi says some counties use traffic commissioners instead of judges to hear infraction cases, but commissioners generally get 80 percent to 90 percent of a judge's wage.) Also, there are no bailiffs in TAB hearing rooms (though help may be summoned quickly) and tape recorders are used instead of human court reporters.

About two-thirds of ticketed motorists, whether going through TAB or the courts, pay their fines without argument, either directly or by mail. As indicated earlier, Novi's problems with law enforcement center on the remainder — the protesters who request one of TAB's informal hearings. Despite what some in law enforcement may say, Novi declares, his hearing officers are neither more nor less lenient than the local courts.

However, Novi continues, some of their ideas about punishment do not set well with police. For instance, if a motorist is to be fined $20 for running a red light but is a poor person, the hearing officer might waive the fine and require that the motorist write a 500-word essay on traffic safety, explaining the dangers of running a red light. If the offense were more serious and the fine were $40 or $50, the requirement might be 2,500 words. But the essay requirement was not common, he says. There were only about 30 a month. (In all, TAB handles about 140,000 cases annually.)

According to Novi, TAB's problems with law enforcement result largely from the informal nature of the TAB process. "They think motorists will pay more attention to the violation if they have to answer in court. They think it ought to be heard before a robed judge between granite-lined walls. They think otherwise you reduce the impact on the motorist."

Helmick, the CHP representative, is one of those who be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lieve the TAB function should be returned to the courts, but with many of TAB's money-saving features remaining intact, such as the use of lower-paid hearing officers. The operation, he says, should be "under the umbrella of the courts."

One of Helmick's main complaints about TAB is that it does nothing about drivers who ignore traffic tickets. He says that CHP officers have stopped drivers to issue citations and learned through a computer check that some had many citations already outstanding against them. One, he says, had 22. "All you can do is write one more and watch the joker drive down the road," he says.

Novi concedes the problem but says it exists because TAB lacks the legal authority to issue arrest warrants for motorists who fail to answer citations. It simply reports each citation to the Department of Motor Vehicles for recording against the driver's license. Since the department will not renew a license if there are outstanding citations against the driver, the driver — at renewal time — will have to answer. But meanwhile, and it may be several years, nothing is done. Belatedly perhaps, TAB will support a bill to give itself the power to issue warrants.

Gordon Jones, Novi's second-in-command, believes that many of TAB's problems with police resulted from its hearing officers' initial inexperience. This, he says, allowed them to be deceived by tall tales from protesting motorists. As a result, he continues, the initial conviction rate was only 30 percent on those that sought hearings. Now that TAB hearing officers are better at separating good stories from bad, he says, the conviction rate is up to 50 percent.

The law that created TAB in the first place, authored by then-Assemblyman and now Democratic Congressman Vic Fazio of Sacramento, sets 1984 as the year for a decision on TAB's fate. In January of that year the Legislature is to receive a full-blown report on TAB's operations. If nothing is done, the program will automatically expire in July.

However, Legislative Analyst William Hamm has pointed out that if — after reading the January report — lawmakers decide to continue the program without interruption, they could not do so. Because of constitutional provisions, they would have to let TAB expire in July and be resurrected the following January. To avoid the possibility of such a fuss, Hamm supports TAB's request for a one-year extension now.

But the legislative prospects for an extension were not bright. Not only was law enforcement opposed, but the new Deukmejian Administration could be counted upon to support the law enforcement view. And if TAB were to expire on schedule July 1st next year, chances of its resurrection would be slim. Thus, on April 1st, the traffic board agreed to a number of changes in the program, generally aimed at meeting law enforcement's objections and winning support for an extension bill.

Several of the changes were aimed at giving police a louder voice in the TAB hearing process. One would require that the arresting officer be present if a motorist is pleading not guilty for the second time in three years. Another would prohibit TAB from hearing any citation arising from an accident if the arresting officer and any witnesses were not present. (Insurance companies sought this change also.) Concerning arrest warrants, they would be issued for motorists who failed to appear a second time.

Helmick says the changes satisfy the CHP, but he notes that several (like the arrest warrants) require legislative approval. If the lawmakers go along, he says, then the CHP would become one of TAB's more aggressive supporters.

Oops. There was one more change that the board agreed to make. As of May 1st this year, Novi — TAB's 38-year-old executive director — must go. He is to be replaced in the $46,000-a-year job by someone recommended from the governor's office.

"Nothing personal," Helmick says. .

The wayward ways of Laguna Beach

By LARRY PETERSON

They're starting to call it Santa Monica South — or, in the same spirit, the People's Republic of Laguna Beach. For this scenic seaside community of 28,000 has become Orange County's left field. Although it has more registered Republicans than Democrats, Laguna Beach consistently thumbs its nose at the overwhelming countywide conservative Republican trend, both on candidates and on state ballot propositions.

Laguna beach bucked the tide even more than usual in last fall's elections: The city was the only one of 26 in the county carried by Democratic gubernatorial candidate Tom Bradley. Governor Edmund Brown Jr., the party's U.S. Senate nominee, almost won there, too. Countywide he was swamped by more than 2 to 1. All of the other Democratic candidates for statewide office carried Laguna Beach, but not the county.

And while Orange County voters were rejecting the Proposition 11 bottle-deposit initiative, the Proposition 12 nuclear-freeze proposal and the Proposition 15 gun-control measure, Lagunans embraced them. Moreover, the city was the only one in the county where voters backed retention of all four state Supreme Court justices. Three of the four had been opposed by the state GOP as soft on crime.

Why does Laguna Beach provide this Democratic island in a GOP sea? The answers go beyond the city's image as a non-conformist haven for artists, writers and academics. At least three other factors are involved, according to local political leaders:

- **Environment.** Federal proposals for increased offshore oil and gas drilling strikes fear in all Lagunans, Republicans and Democrats alike. Tourist-oriented businessmen joined environmentalists in responding to the anti-drilling appeals of both Brown and Bradley, both of whom also raised hefty campaign funds among the city's 11,000 registered voters.
- **Gays.** Dan Woolridge, president of the Laguna Beach Democratic Club, says more than 20 percent of the city's registered voters are gay, and that most of them supported both Brown and Bradley for their gay-rights positions.
- **Organization.** Grass-roots activism is strong among Democrats but not Republicans in Laguna Beach, according to Howard Dawson, a Republican ex-councilman. "Our people will donate money to candidates but we don't have many people who will get out and work," admits Jack Smith, president of the local unit of the California Republican Assembly.

However, Laguna Beach went for three area GOP candidates who successfully sought re-election: Congressman Robert Badham, Assemblywoman Marian Bergeson and Ernest Dronenburg Jr., member of the state Board of Equalization. Their winning margins in Laguna Beach were smaller than in other areas, though.

Larry Peterson is political editor of The Register *in Santa Ana.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROSTRUM

Declining teacher quality

The article "Declining teacher quality: public schools' toughest problem" (*CJ*, April 1983) is misleading in title and presentation of facts. Teachers are not the problem but the glue that keeps the system together.

The demands we have placed upon teachers without the needed support during the past two decades have been phenomenal. Teachers have been under attack not because they have failed but because they have succeeded in reaching students who were previously denied the opportunity to learn.

During the last 20 years, our educational policy has been one of equal opportunity for all. Teachers not only promoted expansion of programs which benefited students — average, poor, handicapped, gifted and non-English speaking — but also carried out their assignments with success. . .

Teachers are concerned about the future of their profession. The current credentialing law discourages students from choosing teaching as a career. Prospective teachers should be enrolled in education courses as undergraduate students. Upon graduation, jobs must be available, salaries must be competitive and good working conditions must exist. The key to quality education is not only recruiting and retaining qualified teachers but providing the support necessary to sustain quality education. . .

ED FOGLIA
Executive Committee
National Education Association
San Jose

Let's not kid ourselves — we are not going to take money away from other social programs in order to provide needed monies for education. With other states and foreign countries competing with California for the businesses and industries, it becomes imperative that the business community get behind educational reform.

Further, for those citizens whose children have grown and are no longer part of the public school system, they must be made to realize that in order to keep our economy going, in order to keep our Social Security system vital, we must have an educated work force which can compete in the economic world of today and tomorrow. . .

RONALD M. STEIN
City Attorney
City of Lodi, California

One reason so many young teachers leave is the frustration of a tenure system that protects the incompetent and a pay system that rewards seniority and the taking of meaningless courses but is unrelated to performance. Until we have an end to the tenure system and seniority systems that prohibit the removal of ineffective teachers and prevent the retention of young, qualified teachers in critical subject areas, we will continue to have teacher quality decline. Until we pay on a merit system or free the pay system to respond to market demands, we will have poor teacher quality.

One other area of interest is teacher certification. Your proposal suggests strengthening the certification process. I propose abolishing it. One reason private schools are able to attract competent teachers from prestigious universities is that they don't require the brightest students to subject themselves to teacher training programs. The requirements for getting teaching credentials in public schools in California are guaranteed to turn off the bright students from good universities.

I don't disagree with the argument that beginning teachers are underpaid and the top pay levels off too soon. I do suggest that given the shortness of school days in California compared to the rest of the nation and the 175 school days in session, teachers on a per-hour basis or per-day-worked basis are not as underpaid as yearly salary schedules would imply. . .

ROSS B. HOPKINS, Ph.D.
Public Affairs Manager
Lockheed-California Company
Burbank

Third, not fourth

Excellent article on Japanese-Americans by Leo Rennert. (*CJ*, April 1983). However, I do believe that FDR was elected to a third term in 1940, not 1944, which was to be his fourth term.

RICHARD A. BOWERS
Board Member
San Jose Community College District

How true.

Plea bargaining revisited

Like Ivory soap, your article, "A plea-bargaining ban that didn't work," (*CJ*, April 1983) is 99.44 percent pure. Pure wrong.

Although somewhat disjointedly, the author indicates that the natural order of things is and always has been — plea bargaining. That is, except for a brief time in 1981 when the Ventura County district attorney and a Municipal Court judge "postured," "positioned" and said we're not going to plea bargain anymore. Well, as we're told, terrible things happened.

So much for the soap. Here's what really happened.

Shortly after taking office in January 1979, the Ventura County district attorney instituted a no-plea-bargaining policy. The policy applied to both misdemeanors and felonies. It was widely publicized . . . and intensely opposed: by the private bar, the Superior Court and the public defender.

The results of that opposition were immediate and traumatic: a 146 percent felony jury trial increase in

Continued on page 200

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROSTRUM

Continued from page 199

1979, the first year of the policy. Nevertheless our policy remained unchanged. What changed was the opposition. By the end of 1980 felony jury trials had decreased 24 percent.

Then a strange thing happened. The public defender, after two unremarkable years' experience with the policy in Municipal Court, and outraged by an unusually severe misdemeanor sentence imposed . . . advised his misdemeanor clients to plead not guilty. Within two months there were 50 trailing cases. By April 20th, 1981, there were 100. Despite this unprecedented avalanche of misdemeanor jury trial demands, all but 38 defendants were afforded speedy trials. Those 38, all at liberty and all public defender clients, moved to have their cases dismissed.

In mid-1981, while their motions were being denied by the Municipal and then the Superior Court, things were returning to normal: Defendants were again pleading guilty and within months the jury trial backlog had subsided. The cause of this return to normalcy, of course, had nothing to do with the Court of Appeal decision requiring the dismissal of 38 cases. That decision came 18 months after the return to normalcy. Nor did the return to normalcy have anything to do with a plea bargaining change. Our no-plea-bargaining policy has not changed (except for "tougher" Proposition 8 refinements).

RAYMOND J. SINETAR
Assistant District Attorney
Ventura County

Author Richard Thomson replies: My article failed to state clearly that the Ventura County district attorney has not changed his no-plea-bargaining policy. Plea bargaining, though, may take place between the judge and the defense attorney, without the prosecutor, and has been taking place in Ventura County.

Who's the victim?

I was more than a little perplexed by your Ed Reinecke profile (*CJ*, March 1983). The article's sub-title referred to Reinecke as "a Watergate victim," but the only Watergate reference was to his conviction for perjury before the U.S. Senate.

When I think of Watergate victims, names like Edmund Muskie, Daniel Ellsberg and Morton Halperin come to mind. Not Ed Reinecke.

JEFF COHEN
Venice

'Fictional statement'

I was dismayed to read a fictional statement of my views in your recent article ("Confidence in the Corner Office," *CJ*, April 1983). I don't know where you got the statement but it wasn't from me. In fact, I was very complimentary of the governor's efforts to "take his case to the people." Deukmejian's strength rests on his extraordinary ability to accurately represent the views of the vast majority of Californians.

It's obvious he agrees with the voters that taxes are too high, government is basically inefficient, and that too many criminals have been set loose on our streets. To the extent Deukmejian can mobilize public outcry in these areas, he will be very effective at getting legislative approval of his programs . . .

PATRICK J. NOLAN
Assemblyman
Forty-first District

We stand by the story.

The ballot front . . .

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals.
(Signatures required and deadlines are in parentheses.)

In circulation:

- **REAPPORTIONMENT OF ASSEMBLY, SENATE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS** — an initiative statute to repeal Democratically drawn boundary lines approved by the Legislature in January and to replace them with districts drawn by GOP Assemblyman Don Sebastiani. (393,835, September 1st)
- **GOVERNMENT PENSION PLANS** — a constitutional amendment initiative designed to save state and local government funds by requiring all new employees after January 1st, 1985, to enroll in federal Social Security program. (630,136, June 30th)

Failed to qualify:

- **REAPPORTIONMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS** — an initiative statute to block enactment of congressional district lines.
- **MARIJUANA** — the 12th initiative-statute drive to legalize use of marijuana for persons 18 and over.
- **SPORTS FANS CONSUMER BOARD** — an initiative statute to establish a non-profit corporation to represent the interests of sports fans in dealing with owners, Legislature and other public bodies.

Qualified for next election:

None to date.

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

ROSTER UPDATE

Page 2: The new director of the Department of Personnel Administration is Michael R. Frost.

Page 3: The new director of the Department of Economic and Business Development is Christy Mary Campbell.
The new Department of Savings and Loan commissioner is Lawrence W. Taggart.
The new director of the Department of Boating and Waterways is William H. Ivers.
The new director of the Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs is Chauncey L. Veatch III.
The new director of the Department of Rehabilitation is P. Cecilio Fontanoza.

Page 4: The new State Fire Marshal is Ronald Bogardus.
The new director of the Department of Consumer Affairs is Marie Shibuya-Snell.

Page 5: The new director of the Department of Administrative Law is Linda Stockdale Brewer.

Page 6: Senator Pete Wilson's Los Angeles office telephone number is (213) 209-7543.

Page 13: The following Assembly standing committees have been revised:
Labor and Employment: Add Phil Wyman.
Rules: Add Maxine Waters.
Utilities and Commerce: Add Byron Sher and Cathie Wright; drop Wyman.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why police officers may win binding arbitration this session

By ROBERT B. GUNNISON

Strikes by police got a bad name with the public in 1919. In Boston that year the officers walked off the job because the city refused to allow them to join the American Federation of Labor. The headline in the *Boston Globe* the next morning told the story:

MOBS SMASH WINDOWS, LOOT STORES — WILD NIGHT FOLLOWS STRIKE OF POLICE

The Republican governor, Calvin Coolidge, called out the National Guard, and that was the beginning of the end for the officers' union. For Coolidge (who slept through the night of riots), his handling of the strike propelled him into the White House.

Since then, of course, police unions have become a fact of government life. But the public's attitude toward police strikes probably has not changed much. Although there are no more Calvin Coolidges around, a police strike remains a risky enterprise, at best.

So how can a police union win improved benefits without taking the risk of actually walking off the job? The answer is mandatory binding arbitration. And with the blessings of Governor George Deukmejian, California police may get it this year.

The idea is not new — it has been kicked around the Capitol for a dozen years, but local governments so far have been able to kill the bills. Nor is the concept unique to California. About two dozen states employ binding arbitration in one form or another.

The system would work this way: Police groups and cities would negotiate their labor contracts as they do now. Any issues that could not be resolved would be turned over to an independent arbitrator, whose decision would be final and binding on both sides.

The arbitrator would have broad powers to investigate. Each side would submit its "last best offer" and alternative offers to the negotiator. Larry Thomas, spokesman for Deukmejian, says the administration viewed the "last best offer" rule as attractive because it tended to keep wildly ridiculous offers off the bargaining table. The arbitrator would have to select from one of the final offers and not chart any new ground.

The prospect has California city officials quaking in their budget deficits. A League of California Cities position paper put it this way: "Compulsory arbitration is purely a no-lose proposition for unions. Once the employee negotiator has extracted as much as possible in bargaining sessions with the local government representative, then he need only go one step further to the arbitration process. There is nothing to lose in doing so. . .

"The union is assured of the following situation: (1) The arbitrator will choose their (union negotiators') last offer on the important salary matters or (2) The arbitrator will choose the last offer of the local government, which is at least as much as has been offered in negotiations. There is no way the union can lose."

Foes of binding arbitration also use a speech by Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit, a former state senator and longtime friend of organized labor. While Young was in the Michigan Senate, he voted for a bill that imposed compulsory binding arbitration. As mayor, he said he rues the day. "The arbitrators seem to believe that there is not a limit on how much of our money they should spend," Young said in the 1979 speech. Arbitrators, he said, had "powers so broad that they undermine the democratic process and strip from the people of a community their ability to control their own affairs. This broad power makes it possible for an arbitrator to do almost any damn thing he, or she, wants."

Additionally, opponents cite experiences in six California cities that have charter provisions for mandatory binding arbitration. In Vallejo, they say, there has been no settlement without arbitration since 1970, and half the agreements in Oakland and Palo Alto have gone to arbitration in recent years.

In March, the Palo Alto City Council was livid when an arbitrator awarded the city police a 16.8 percent pay raise that will cost the city $540,601 during the next year. An officer's salary will go from $25,260 to $28,204. In addition, the employees' contribution to their retirement plan will drop from 9 to 2 percent. The city will have to pay the difference. For the council there was no choice but to accept the arbitrator's terms because it is required

Robert B. Gunnison is the Sacramento bureau chief for United Press International.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the city charter.

The police union response to all this is relatively brief and is probably best expressed in a statement of legislative intent carried by the two binding arbitration bills currently before lawmakers; "The Legislature hereby finds and declares that strikes and work stoppages by police officers are a matter of statewide concern and not in the public interest. The Legislature further finds and declares that compulsory and binding arbitration is the appropriate method of resolving disputes that lead to these strikes." The bills would impose the threat of immediate firing or suspension and a fine of not more than $500 a day for each striking officer.

A variety of police organizations insist the situation is not as one-sided as the cities contend. They say arbitrators must give the cities about as much as they give the police if they are to maintain their credibility as arbitrators. In response to the cities' complaint about excessive costs, the unions contend that cities will actually save money by avoiding strikes.

The governor's support

That Deukmejian — never noted for being a friend of labor groups — would endorse the arbitration proposal speaks volumes about the new political power of police and the eagerness of politicians to capitalize on their image as crime fighters. Endorsements by police organizations, while not financially important to a candidate's campaign, add great symbolic value that sounds good in broadcast advertising.

Several police organizations are supporting the binding arbitration bills, including the Peace Officers Research Association of California, a 35,000-member group that endorsed Deukmejian narrowly over his Democratic election rival, Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, a former police officer. Since inauguration day, PORAC has been treated well. A former PORAC president, Lieutenant John Pearson of the San Diego Police Department, has been appointed by the governor as a senior labor relations officer in the Department of Personnel Administration. The governor's top lobbyist is Rodney Blonien who once worked for PORAC and is now deeply involved in negotiations over the arbitration bills.

While Deukmejian is cuddling up to the police, local governments are certain to remind him of a pledge he made last year: "As governor, I will veto any and all bills that mandate additional programs on counties which do not provide adequate funding for carrying out these programs." The cities insist that use of binding arbitration will cost them more in eventual settlements and for the cost of negotiations.

Of the two bills that have been introduced, one is by Democratic Assemblyman Bruce Young of Cerritos; the other is by Democratic Senator Ralph Dills of Gardena. Most parties involved in the issue believe the Dills bill will be used as the chief vehicle because the Senate is considered the most hostile house toward binding arbitration. "The Assembly is wired," one lobbyist says.

Neither bill will move, however, until all parties agree on the scope of what an arbitrator will be able to consider during contract talks. Deukmejian wants the bills limited to economic issues; the police would like other issues considered. "He has pretty well defined what his position is," says Monte McFall, PORAC's top lobbyist. "He gave us his commitment prior to the election that if the bill had economic issues only in it, then he would sign it."

McFall said police would want to keep some right to use what he calls "job actions" if arbitration is limited strictly to wages and other economic issues. The cities insist police have no legal right to strike, but the officers maintain they still can use such techniques as "blue flu" sickouts, and ultra-strict enforcement of laws that can make life unpleasant for many citizens.

At the time of the Boston strike, Coolidge declared, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." If California police win mandatory binding arbitration, there may be no need for a strike by anybody, anywhere, anytime.

NEW IN PRINT

Realigning State and County Responsibilities: Human Services and the Courts — Prepared by the Assembly Office of Research. 121 pages. Recommends substantial reorganization of state and local government administration, financing and delivery of health and welfare programs, and the financing of trial courts. The report's recommendations are embodied in 1983 legislation, AB 2100-2101, sponsored by Assemblymen Sam Farr and Bob Naylor.

Block Grant Advisory Task Force: Report to the Governor and the Legislature — Prepared by J. Lewis Associates, 1010-11th St., Suite 300, Sacramento 95814. 107 pages, $2.50. The net effect of the state's transition to the use of federal block grants to fund human services programs will be a 26 percent reduction in funding for these programs.

Report of the California Rural Crime Prevention Task Force — Office of the Attorney General, 4949 Broadway, PO Box 13197, Sacramento 95813. 15 pages. The report says rural crime has increased by more than 200 percent in the last five years, and the most prevalent rural crimes are theft, vandalism and sabotage of livestock, construction projects, oil fields, timber operations, agricultural commodities and farm equipment.

Summary of New Laws Affecting Women — Compiled by the California Commission on the Status of Women, 926 J St., Sacramento 95814. 36 pages, $3. A compendium of laws enacted by the Legislature in 1982 in the areas of employment, education, criminal justice, family law, health and welfare, housing, insurance, taxation and child care.

Letter Report of Findings on the Office of Special Health Care Negotiations — Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy ("Little Hoover Commission"), 11th & L Bldg., Suite 550, Sacramento 95814. 6 pages. State savings under the new system of negotiated Medi-Cal contracts with hospitals will be much less than anticipated (only $13 million during 1982-83 and approximately $127 million annually instead of $200 million).

Summary Market Report of a High Speed Rail Service Between Los Angeles and San Diego — American High Speed Rail Corporation, 2029 Century Park East, Suite 1010, Los Angeles 90067. Two-volume feasibility study (18 and 36 pages) examines the ridership and revenue forecasts, engineering and construction plans, and financing for a so-called "bullet train" connecting San Diego with Los Angeles. The project costs are estimated to be $3.1 billion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How San Diego County press helped to beat 'Bad-Boy' Crean

Archer cites views on deception
Hitler, Trotsky and Crean--three of a kind?
'Fat Crean' displayed style
early as doughnut salesman
Pursuit of 'freedom' has led
to alcoholism, arrest, divorce
Anti-Crean rating 'unbelievably' high
By Joel West
Staff Writer
SANTA ANA -- A pollster hir d
by congressional write-in can-
didate Ron Packard tod y
predicted that
will be the winner of the election,"
Lawrence predicted, although
Crean later claimed Packard's poll
showed that Crean was gaining.
The pollster said that he could
the Mediterranean fruit fly crisis,
had a 55 percent unfavorable
rating.
Crean told The Vista Press he
was not worried
by the high
Those polled were divided into
three equal groups with each group
asked a slightly different question
on who voters would prefer. When
one group was asked to choose
candidates, and plus or minus five
percent on the remaining ques-
tions, which were asked of all
voters.
Although he would not release
Little Johnnie Crean
Johnnie's New Toy
Johnnies Old Toys

By NANCY E. ALLEN

When freshman Congressman Ron Packard took the microphone to accept the "Headliner of the Year" award from the San Diego Press Club a few months ago, he commented that it was he who should be giving an award to the media for their assistance in his longshot write-in victory in the 43rd Congressional District.

The first California congressman ever to be elected on a write-in, Packard last November defeated two candidates who were listed on the ballot — Democrat Roy (Pat) Archer and Republican Johnnie R. Crean. Perhaps the most unusual element of this unique achievement was what Packard calls the "tremendous" role played by the press in promoting his candidacy. Consultant Allan Hoffenblum, who directed Crean's general election campaign, agrees that "the press was the dominant and decisive force in the outcome of the race."

Although I worked briefly after the primary as a research aide for Johnnie Crean, you can definitely list me as a non-fan. I found him to be brash and overbearing. However, I never considered Crean to be "ruthless," "vicious," "a clear and present danger" or another "Hitler." Yet all of these terms were used by local newspapers in the southern Orange and northern San Diego county district. The journalistic overkill was such that Crean staffers, when opening the daily papers, prayed that his name would *not* appear.

The root of Crean's problems with the press was his costly ($800,000), offensive primary campaign in which he vastly outspent 17 other GOP hopefuls seeking the seat of retiring Republican Congressman Clair Burgener. Crean's campaign was directed by the aggressive Orange County consulting firm, Butcher-Forde. Relying on their candidate's personal wealth from the family's travel-trailer business, Butcher-Forde flooded area television, radio and mailboxes with "hit piece" attacks on his major GOP opponents. His conservative platform was endorsed by numerous "letterhead committees" created exclusively to boost Crean's credibility.

Butcher-Forde also refused to schedule personal appearances by Crean. In my opinion, this was a fatal mistake, because Crean turned out to be surprisingly articulate. He fired Butcher-Forde on primary day, but the damage — for which he, of course, was ultimately responsible — was already done. The image of Crean as just a nasty little rich kid on a lark had spread, and the newspapers proceeded to play it for all it was worth.

After reading all the newspaper coverage of the campaign and interviewing many persons involved, I have concluded that the press seriously overstepped the bounds between observer and participant. The San Diego County press took an advocacy role on behalf of the Packard campaign and stirred up something akin to hatred for Crean. The papers set up Crean as an ogre and Packard as a white knight. It made great theater but inferior journalism.

Packard has said that the press took "a very influential part" in convincing him to run. That was confirmed by Will Corbin, editor of the Escondido *Times-Advocate*, who said his paper backed Packard "strenuously and quickly." Corbin reasoned this way: "He (Packard) needed all the help he could get. We decided what the hell, let's go for it."

By August six papers in the district with a total circulation of 116,000, had decided to "go for it." Their support of Packard was mainly evident in a flood

Nancy E. Allen is a free-lance writer in Escondido.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of editorials. The *Times-Advocate*, for example, ran five editorials praising Packard, plus several shorter editorial-page commentaries on the race. The *San Diego Union* carried six separate editorials on the 43rd race.

While most of the newspapers which supported Packard allowed opposing opinions to be printed as letters to the editor, the *Blade-Tribune* of Oceanside refused to run letters on the 43rd race after September. Both Archer and Crean supporters gave the *Blade-Tribune* the lowest marks for objectivity. Jon Dummer, an Archer campaign aide, says that paper "was on line with the Packard campaign — it was quite obvious."

In one editorial, the *Blade-Tribune* attacked Crean as having a "warped view of reality" and compared him unfavorably with a pornography smuggling suspect. But the *Blade-Tribune* was not alone in making personal attacks on Crean. The *Times-Advocate* said editorially, "To know him (Crean) is to hate him." The *Vista Press* weighed in with a reference to his "viciousness" and called him an embarrassment along the lines of Ku Klux Klan grand dragon Tom Metzger, the 1980 Democratic nominee in the district. One *San Diego Union* editorial also used the Klan analogy in accusing Crean of making a racist remark about black women on welfare. It failed to mention that Crean's comment came in response to a questioner at a public forum, and it was the question which introduced the subject of race.

There was a surprising level of involvement among some editors in the Packard campaign. Packard credits *Evening Tribune* Editor Neil Morgan with the design of his campaign symbol, a sharpened pencil, and says that there were many other instances in which editors offered advice and help. In one *Union* editorial, a portion of a Packard flyer — explaining how to cast a write-in vote — was reprinted with credit to the source. Several papers used a controversial anti-Crean cartoon provided by the Packard campaign without revealing its origin. Some editors agreed to time their editorials so that they could be reprinted in Packard's literature.

Ignoring the issues

Former state Senator John Stull, who supported Crean, believes the press capitalized on the campaign. "The press was completely biased against Crean," Stull says. "They used this race which normally would have been ho-hum to sell newspapers. I lost any respect I ever had for them."

Candidate Archer has a similar complaint. "There was no coverage on the issues," he says. "But when I said something derogatory about Crean, it got headlines." A college political science professor, Archer once discussed in public a Crean remark about the ends justifying the means. He offered several historical analogies, but he was shocked to see the resulting headline in the *Vista Press:* "Hitler, Trotsky, Crean — Three of a Kind?"

Crean's San Diego County coordinator, Janice Rudolph, says that story generated hate mail and threatening phone calls. "The press coverage was so ugly that it was frightening to people who would normally help," Rudolph says. "Our volunteers worried that there would be trouble. They would do things privately, but they were afraid to have their names connected to the campaign."

On the other hand, Archer's staff believes that their candidate was ignored by the press. Lorraine Atkins, Archer's campaign manager, complains that the press "tried to bait a fight between Crean and Packard. We tried to fight on the issues. If we had called names we would have gotten better coverage."

Clearly, Crean's supporters would have preferred a little benign neglect. One major source of difficulty for the Crean campaign was a series of negative profiles of the candidate's early years that ran in the *Union*, the *Vista Press* and the *Times-Advocate*.

The other Crean biographies had so many similarities that Rudolph refers to them generically as the "Johnnie Crean, boy-alcoholic," stories. They included such tidbits as the fact that Crean was often late to breakfast at military school, that he was arrested for tipping over a construction sign, that his sheep dogs had offended his neighbors and that his first son arrived only seven months after the wedding. They also emphasized Crean's teen-age drinking problem, although there is no evidence that he has had a drink since he joined Alcoholics Anonymous 12 years ago, at 21.

By contrast, candidate Packard was treated by the press as an almost flawless hero. In a post-election analysis, the *Los Angeles Times* referred to the "overwhelmingly favorable treatment" and the "almost fawning" coverage which Packard received from the San Diego County papers.

Certainly, Packard could hardly complain about his personality profiles. The *Union's* began, "The homespun sincerity Ron Packard seems to exude during his many campaign appearances was hewn from years of practice: He led a Spartan existence growing up that could have been the basis for a Waltons' TV script." The *Vista Press* said, "As Ronald Reagan, Ron Packard can trace his conservative beliefs back to roots in rural America." The *Times-Advocate* began, "There seems to be no end to the nice things being said about this man Ron Packard."

The intensity of the negative press coverage may have been at least partly responsible for the fact that on election day, the two printed candidates' names were marked out on more than half of the district voting machines in San Diego County. Longtime Democratic activist Henry Auerbach says, "This was the payoff toward the end — people were so whipped up into a frenzy that 1,200 ballot booklets were defaced in unbelievable ways."

Regardless of the possible side effects, the importance of editorial support to Packard was obvious on election day. Packard finished third in Orange County, where newspaper involvement was much less extensive. But Crean carried only one San Diego County community, Valley Center, whose weekly, *The Roadrunner*, was the only newspaper to support his candidacy. Packard won with 37 percent of the total vote; Democrat Archer got 32 percent and Crean had 31.

J Michael
CUSTOM CLOTHIER

CUSTOM TAILORED SHIRTINGS

PRECISE FIT

•

WIDE FABRIC SELECTION

•

DETAILED TO YOUR SPECIFICATIONS

•

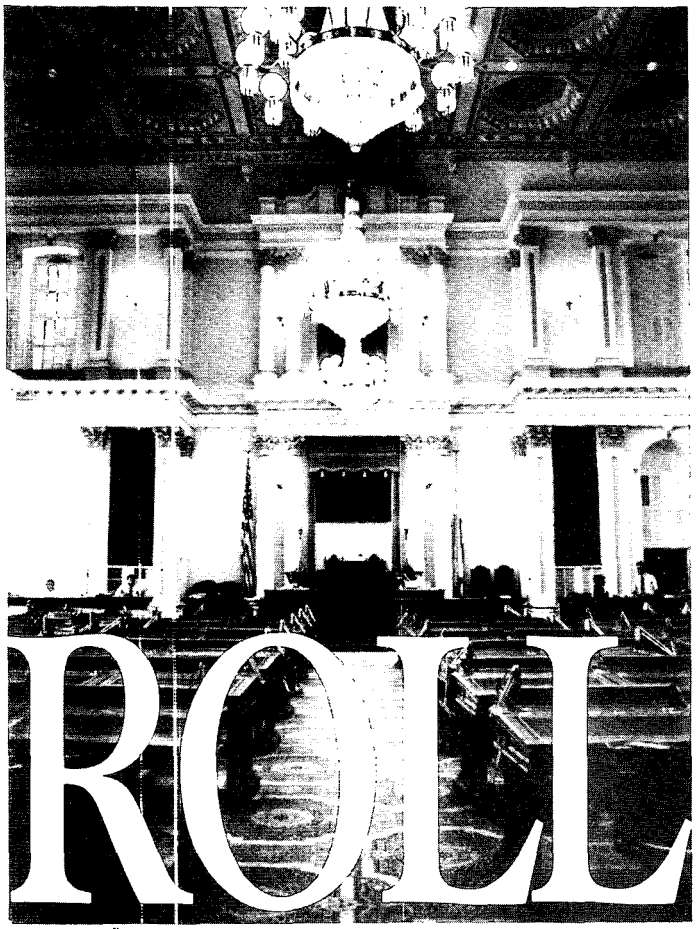
PERSONALIZED MONOGRAM

•

You may shop with us at our downtown location or in the convenience of your office or residence.

1004 10TH STREET
SACRAMENTO
448-0404

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ROLL CALL

ASSEMBLY

SENIORS' CHECKOFF

AB 50 (Agnos). Allows taxpayers to designate a portion of their income tax refund for support of the California Senior Legislature, an annual forum in which seniors can address issues affecting the elderly. Opponents of the bill state that it creates a bad precedent for opening up the taxpayer checkoff system to appeals from all types of charitable, social or political groups. Passed April 7th, 58-12.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Goggin, Hannigan, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Sher, Tanner, Vasconcellos, Vicenc a, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bergeson, Bradley, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, La Follette, McClintock, Naylor, Rogers, Seastrand, Stirling.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bader, Baker, D. Brown, Johnson, Konnyu, Leonard, Lewis, Mojonnier, Sebastiani, Statham, Wright, Wyman.

FARMERS' TAX BREAKS

AB 120 (Kelley). Reinstates tax breaks for farmers who donate agricultural food products to charitable organizations. Supporters say the break — a double tax deduction — will cost the state only about $100,000 annually and is beneficial to the poor. Opponents argue that the tax break is "double-dipping." Farmers would donate excess food without the double tax deduction, they say. Passed April 7th, 68-4.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Goggin, Hannigan, Hauser, Hayden, Isenberg, Killea, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Tanner, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Floyd, Katz, Klehs, Roos.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None.

PREMARITAL EXAMS

AB 283 (Tucker). Would have repealed requirement that marriage applicants have premarital examinations for syphylis and German measles (rubella). Supporters say the tests have lost value because about 40 percent of couples marry secretly or don't marry at all. Opponents state that abandoning the tests could cause an increase in congenital rubella. Failed March 17th, 19-45.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Areias, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Campbell, Floyd, Hauser, Hughes, Isenberg, Klehs, Margolin, Moore, Roos, Tucker.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bader, D. Brown, Frizzelle, Jones, Lewis.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Agnos, Calderon, Chacon, Clute, Connelly, Costa, Elder, Farr, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Johnston, Katz, Killea, McAlister, Moorhead, Papan, Peace, Sher, Tanner, M. Waters, N. Waters.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, Frazee, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Leonard, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

SENATE

EARLY PRISON RELEASES

SB 50 (Presley). Would have allowed early releases to reduce overcrowded prison conditions. According to the bill's author, prisons are now operating at 133 percent of their capacity, and it will be three years before new prisons can be built. Opponents contend that inmate overcrowding can be handled by the use of temporary buildings and other facilities. Defeated March 17th, 20-17.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Dills, Foran, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres, Watson.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Davis, Marks.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Deddeh, Garamendi, Mello, Robbins, Stiern, Vuich.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Campbell, Craven, Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

BUS EXEMPTIONS

SB 33 (Foran). Extends law exempting public buses from state emission standards which are tougher than federal. Supporters say the smog controls cut engine efficiency, resulting in higher fuel costs. Opponents argue that public transit buses should not be given special treatment and that a reduction in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

air pollution should be the overriding issue. Passed March 17th, 23-12.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Boatwright, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, L. Greene, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Montoya, Robbins, Stiern.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Davis, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Marks, Nielsen, Royce, Seymour, Speraw.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Ayala, Garamendi, Hart, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Rosenthal, Vuich, Watson.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Doolittle, Richardson, Russell.

CONDO BENEFIT

SB 259 (Mello). Undercuts a San Francisco condominium ordinance, ostensibly for the benefit of a private developer who is a heavy campaign contributor and friend of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Passed March 7th, 21-10.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Dills, Garamendi, B. Greene, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Robbins, Vuich.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Doolittle, Ellis, Richardson, Royce, Seymour, Speraw.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Deddeh, Foran, Hart, Keene, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Watson.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Davis, Marks.

COMMITTEE VOTES

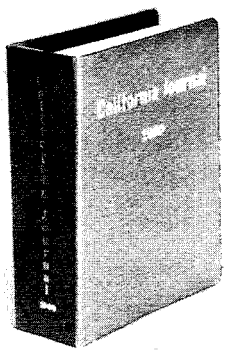
SENATE CONFIRMATION

ACA 20 (Wyman). Would have required Senate confirmation of the governor's judicial appointees. Supporters say the proposed amendment would assure that no questionable candidates are appointed for political reasons. Opponents contend that Senate approval would generate more political maneuvering. Assembly Judiciary Committee defeated April 4th, 5-7.

AYES: Johnson (R), Lancaster (R), McAlister (D), Mojonnier (R), Stirling (R).

NOES: Calderon (D), Connelly (D), Goggin (D), Harris (D), Moorhead (D), Robinson (D), M. Waters (D).

ABSENT: Johnston (D).



The ideal way to store your Journals

Sturdy and attractive **Journal** binders are now available for immediate shipment. These binders are made from the finest quality buckram and are stamped with gold-foil letters. They are available for the years 1970 through 1983 and each binder contains enough space for a full year of magazines plus the annual index.

The price for each binder is $8.43, including sales tax. Shipping and handling are free only on prepaid, Visa and MasterCard orders. (Annual indexes are **$2.95** each.)

Send your binder orders to the **California Journal Press,** 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, 95814.

MANSION SALE

AB 16x (Alatorre). Would have repealed law requiring sale of the governor's mansion, allowing Governor Deukmejian to move in, as he says he wants to do. Those who want to sell the mansion argue that it would cost about $907,000 to prepare it for occupancy and $600,000 annually to maintain it, and besides it's too far from the Capitol downtown. Opponents reply that the governor should be able to live where he wishes, especially since he would use private donations to furnish and landscape the mansion. Senate Governmental Organization Committee defeated March 22nd, 4-4.

AYES: Beverly (R), Campbell (R), Foran (D), Maddy (R).

NOES: Alquist (D), Dills (D), Keene (D), Rosenthal (D).

ABSENT OR NOT VOTING: Carpenter (D), B. Greene (D), Robbins (D).

JUDGES' TERMS

ACA 12 (Statham). Would have reduced the terms of Supreme Court and appellate court justices from 12 years to 6. Supporters say the measure would make justices more accountable to voters. Critics believe there would be a greater opportunity for politicizing the judiciary. Assembly Judiciary Committee defeated March 7th, 4-5.

AYES: Johnson (R), Lancaster (R), McAlister (D), Stirling (R).

NOES: Calderon (D), Harris (D), Johnston (D), Mojonnier (R), Moorhead (D).

ABSENT: Connelly (D), Goggin (D), Robinson (D), M. Waters (D).

AB 384 (Campbell). Would have expanded the voluntary tax checkoff system to help finance state programs for endangered wildlife. Opponents state bill would set bad precedent by opening checkoff system to appeals from all types of groups. Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee defeated March 21st, 6-7.

AYES: Connelly (D), Cortese (D), Elder (D), Hayden (D), Klehs (D), McClintock (R).

NOES: D. Brown (R), Frazee (R), Hannigan (D), Jones (R), Molina (D), Nolan (R), Seastrand (R).

ABSENT: Condit (D), Moore (D).

AB 607 (Vicencia). Would have expanded the voluntary income tax checkoff system to help finance child abuse prevention programs. Opponents state bill would set bad precedent by opening checkoff system to appeals from all types of groups. Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee defeated March 21st, 4-6.

AYES: Cortese (D), Elder (D), McClintock (R), Molina (D).

NOES: D. Brown (R), Hannigan (D), Jones (R), Klehs (D), Nolan (R), Seastrand (R).

ABSENT: Condit (D), Connelly (D), Moore (D).

NOT VOTING: Frazee (R), Hayden (D).

AB 72 (Floyd). Would have delayed start of 17 special tax breaks for favored industries and groups, saving the state $150 million. Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee defeated February 28, 4-5.

AYES: Connelly (D), Hannigan (D), Hayden (D), Klehs (D).

NOES. D. Brown (R), Frazee (R), Nolan (R), McClintock (R), Seastrand (R).

ABSENT: Condit (D), Molina (D), Moore (D).

NOT VOTING: Cortese (D), Elder (D).

ABSTAINED: Jones (R).

AB 204 (Frizzelle). Would have authorized school districts to impose fees on students for participation in extracurricular activities such as sports and band. Supporters say school districts need the money and poor students would be exempted from paying fees. Opponents contend that fees would deter student participation and would humiliate poor students. Assembly Education Committee defeated March 1st, 5-9.

AYES: Allen (R), Bader (R), Bergeson (R), Bradley (R), Mojonnier (R).

NOES: Campbell (D), Clute (D), Davis (D), Farr (D), Hayden (D), Hughes (D), Johnston (D), Tanner (D), Vasconcellos (D).

ABSENT: Connelly (D).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

Of rice and men

Like tobacco in North Carolina, rice in California is a crop that requires far more than tender loving care in the fields to assure growers a handsome return. In both states, producers have come to depend on powerful political connections in Washington to keep them in clover. Without vigilance by tobacco-state lawmakers, public health authorities would find it easier to eradicate this noxious weed, and government support props would have been swept away a long time ago. In the case of rice, the federal connection is just as critical. Americans are not big rice eaters. A big chunk of U.S. production must be exported. Yet, even abroad, there are not many counties where rice is part of the daily diet. As a result, the specter of price-depressing surpluses constantly haunts California rice producers.

IN GETTING AROUND THIS PROBLEM, what Uncle Ben won't do for them, Uncle Sam often does. Prodded by members of the congressional delegation, federal agencies use diplomatic and other means to protect and expand foreign markets for domestic rice producers. Puerto Rico usually is fair game for arm-twisting pressures to buy more rice. South Korea, a strong military ally, has developed into a big rice buyer. To capture and retain a big share of foreign markets, California producers must fight off competition from both Southern growers and foreign exporters. Since many deals are struck in government-to-government negotiations, it pays to have the right connections at power centers like the State Department, the Agriculture Department and the White House.

The stakes in nailing down international contracts are enormous. A single deal can mean tens of millions of dollars to a relatively small group of agricultural producers. Conversely, the loss of a deal can bring about huge surpluses and tremendous potential losses. No wonder that under these circumstances the industry often turns to wheeler-dealers with potent connections.

Sometimes the process gets a bit raunchy as individuals with fat wallets use generous campaign contributions and other favors to seek short cuts. In the 1970s, Tongsun Park, a South Korean entrepreneur, promoted rice deals so effectively that he ended up twisting both Seoul and Washington around his little finger. He became a suave insider who threw lavish parties. But things got out of hand, and several members of the California delegation fell victim to Koreagate.

More recently, California rice dealings again popped into the news — this time to the embarrassment of the Reagan White House. Two rice exporting groups in the state were battling for a lucrative deal with South Korea, each with pipelines to powerful political players. The fight pitted Comet Rice of Colusa County against the Sacramento-based Rice Growers Association of California, which represents co-ops. With the State Department apparently tilting toward the co-ops, Comet hired Lyn Nofziger, a long-time Reagan political aide who now runs his own political consultant firm in Washington. Never known for diplomatic deftness, Nofziger fired off a blunt letter to William P. Clark, the president's national security adviser, castigating his old White House associates for not helping Republican friends in California. Casting the battle in purely partisan terms, Nofziger pictured Comet as a solid pro-GOP outfit and their competitors as a den of "liberals." The co-ops, he said, have in their corner the likes of former San Francisco Mayor Joe Alioto and Democratic Congressmen Vic Fazio of West Sacramento and Tony Coelho of Merced. And, horror of horrors, as Nofziger pointed out, Coelho has been chairman of the House Democratic Campaign Committee, which raises money to defeat Republicans.

Warming to his topic, Nofziger put it on the line so that even the amiable Clark couldn't miss the point. "I find it incredible," he told Clark, "that a Republican administration would be urging the Korean Government to break a contract with some Republicans in order to reward some Democrats for sticking it to us Republicans. I sure wish you would take a look at this, because it seems to me that once again we're in a position of screwing our friends and rewarding our enemies."

When the Nofziger letter became public, the White House ran for cover. Clark said he treated it merely as a bit of information that had come to his attention. The co-ops hinted at darker explanations, suggesting it was no coincidence that prospects of favorable administration treatment evaporated soon after the letter reached the White House. Comet countered by accusing the co-ops of trying to set up a monopoly. Nofziger was hired, it said, to offset pressures from co-op friends in Congress. Supporters of the co-ops pointed out that, notwithstanding the partisan line drawn by Nofziger, their side enjoyed backing from both Republicans and Democrats in the delegation. GOP Congressman Gene Chappie of Chico, a co-op supporter, called the letter an example of "bad judgment." Reagan aides privately used much harsher language.

WHATEVER THE LETTER'S IMPACT on what Nofziger described as "the great rice battle" in California, it offered a new glimpse into some of the fierce political-influence and lobbying battles that swirl around production and sales of California rice. One of the best insights into these backstage exertions can be found in the autobiography of Suzi Thomson, who had a turbulent career as an aide to former House Speaker Carl Albert. The Korean-born Thomson tells how she got involved with former California Congressman Robert Leggett, who represented a rice-growing district in the Sacramento Valley. Thomson (now Mrs. Leggett) warmly recalls the moment when he returned from a trip to Puerto Rico where he helped put together a deal for shipment of California rice to Korea. "While I cooked, he stood at the doorway of the little kitchen, talking about his trip to San Juan. He was very pleased with what he had been able to accomplish, because they had been able to sell a large amount of California rice. 'It wasn't that easy either,' he explained. 'But you see, we just keep insisting that the Koreans preferred our short-grain rice to the Louisiana long-grain rice.'"

Where else but in Washington can such conversations lead to profit and romance?

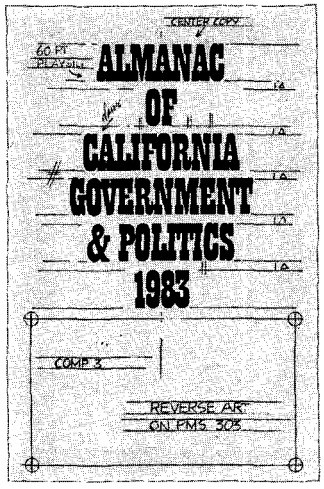
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMING IN MAY!

(at last)

Almanac of California Government & Politics, 1983.

The long-awaited 1983-84 edition of California Journal's **Almanac of California Government and Politics** is finally being published. This fourth edition was delayed two years awaiting a brief resolution of legislative reapportionment. Now available, the new edition contains 192 pages in 5½" x 8" format packed with facts, figures and information on every aspect of California government and politics.



Included are:

- **biographies of all state elected and top appointed officials;**
- **detailed election results;**
- **executive branch organization and phone numbers;**
- **legislative district maps;**
- **judicial organization and names;**
- **congressional biographies, district maps, etc.;**
- **state budget summaries;**
- **higher education leaders and colleges;**
- **population information for the state, cities and counties;**
- **and much, much more.**

This vital reference should be on the desk of every person interested in California's government, demography, institutions and politics.

The **Almanac** does not have a list of the state's best bargains, but if it did the **Almanac** would head the list. The **Almanac** costs only $4.95 plus 6 percent sales tax. And if you order 10 or more copies, the price is only $4.50 each, plus tax.

Orders must be prepaid by check, MasterCard or VISA number. Send orders to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

Politicians love apathy. It's their greatest friend.

— Richard Reeves

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED